

Property of
MARINE CORPS HISTORICAL LIBRARY
Please Return to Room 3127

REFERENCE BOOK
Do Not Remove From
ROOM

REFERENCE BOOK
Do Not Remove From
ROOM

REFERENCE
VE 23. ALM3
Vol. 1, ch. 12-19
2d Set

REFERENCE BOOK
Do Not Remove From
ROOM

CHANGE BOOK
from them
1901

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

By

Major Edwin North McClellan.

170
no train
7 A

Volume 1, Chapter 12-12.

1925-1931

FORENOTE

If details concerning the participation of the Navy and Army in any operation or incident described herein do not appear, such omission occurs only because it is impracticable in a history of this character to set forth more than the work of the Marines themselves. To do more than this would extend the history beyond the scope and size planned. In many of the operations described, the Navy or the Army, or both, have been present in greater strength than the Marines, and full credit is here given for their splendid achievements.

The following form of citation is suggested if it is desired to cite, either in published works, or manuscript, any information contained herein:-

(McClellan, Hist., U.S.M.C., 1st ed., I, Chap. 12, p---)

REF.
VE
23
.A1M3
Vol.1, ch. 12-19
2d Set

REFERENCE BOOK
REMOVED FROM
ROOM

28 Oct 1959
3343

G5059

LIBRARY BOOK
MAR 1925

FRENCH NAVAL WAR, 1798-1801

Chapter XII, Volume I,
History of the United States Marine Corps

By

Major Edwin N. McClellan, U.S. Marines
Officer-in-Charge
Historical Section.

First Edition
JULY 8, 1925.

CHAPTER XII.
FRENCH NAVAL WAR.
1798-1801.

Our troubles with France had an early beginning. When we declared ourselves an independent state in 1776 the sympathy France felt for us was exhibited in several material ways. Recognition as a sovereign state was accorded in 1777 and a treaty of alliance and another treaty were entered into.¹ Troops, fleets and Lafayette arrived. The assistance afforded the struggling states by France during our first revolution was probably equal to the aid rendered by the United States to the associated nations in 1918 in that neither the United States in the Revolution nor France in the World War could have been victors, without such assistance.²

Louis XVI was King of France and he could little have imagined the terrible effect those "American principles" that he added during the years 1777-1781, would have on his fortunes in 1789 to 1793, when his grand monarchy was overthrown and he himself claimed by the guillotine. It was in the exercise of his "divine right" as King that Louis threw the weight of his Army and Navy on the side of the very "ideas" which later destroyed him.³

The wordless history of those events may be read at Mount Vernon. Hanging in the main hall of George Washington's home is the key of the Bastille, presented to Washington by Lafayette as a "trophy of the spoils of despotism."

and because it was the principles of America which had unlocked its gates. As you stand reading Paine's letter below the key, turn your head, glance over your right shoulder and you will see a large rug presented by Louis XVI to George Washington. Plain and comprehensible. Louis, the representative of despotic power, added the fuel to the flames of equality and freedom for man which a decade later leaped back across the ocean and consumed him and his divine rights. And so the "deluge," promised by Louis XIV some years before when he exclaimed, "After us the deluge!" arrived in 1789.³

But the "idea" had then no such soil in France as it had in America. Surrounded by enemies, it was submerged. As France emerged from the Revolution she was entangled and strangled by the Old World influences. Wars, intrigues, foreign relations, all obsessed the leaders of New France to the exclusion or mismanagement of those domestic matters so essential to national success and the happiness and prosperity of the individuals.⁴

It was not France alone who brought about war with America, but rather a system of foreign relations practiced by France in common with the other European States.⁴ The American Revolution against the sinister principles of the Old World continued many years after our treaty of peace was completed in 1783. This struggle with France was a continuation of the same revolt against the same evil principles as in the first war with Great Britain.⁴ Our war

with France was nothing but the heat generated by the meeting of the "decadent" principles of Old Europe and the principles called "American" that after struggling down the ages had found an environment in America favorable to their development.⁵

The United States may have made a separate treaty with Great Britain at the end of the Revolution; the alliance treaty of 1778 may not have been observed by the United States; the jealousy of France may have been aroused by the Jay Treaty with Great Britain; the arbitrary actions of "Citizen" Genet in America, the non-observance by France of our declared neutrality, and the treatment of our envoys in France may have aroused antagonism; and a spirit of "superiority" may have ruled France in her dealing with a third-rate power like the United States. All these and others, however, lead back to the real cause which has been stated.

Late in 1790, President Washington invited attention to the troubled condition of Europe and urged the necessity of strict watchfulness on the part of the United States in order not to become involved.

No serious difficulties arose at this time, but the wars involving Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland spread to the New World and presented grave problems. A strict interpretation of the treaties of 1778 would have made us an ally of France and required us to guarantee France's West Indian possessions. In 1793 a proclamation of neutrality, with the

word "neutrality" omitted was published; the Republic of France recognized; and a French Minister received. The actions of the French Minister, "Citizen" Genet, aggravated the circumstances. Then France demanded that we pay our Revolutionary debt to her at once instead of by installments, as had been arranged.⁶ Genet was recalled in 1794 and better feelings prevailed for a time.

Unsatisfactory conditions between France and the United States returned, however, when the Jay Treaty with Great Britain was proclaimed in 1796. France believed that this treaty conflicted with our treaties with her of 1778. In 1796, the French government enacted the first of a series of decrees which eventually brought matters to armed conflict on the sea in 1798. The X Y Z Commission arrived in France in 1797 and returned the next year without having accomplished anything.

On the 18th of March, President Adams urged Congress to adopt measures for the "protection of our seafaring and commercial citizens" and to prepare for war. On the 26th a committee of Congress, after reciting instances of French privateers taking possession of English and American vessels in our harbors, recommended that the President be authorized to provide and operate "galleyes of floating batteries" for the "public safety and defense." On the 9th of April, Secretary of War McHenry urged Congress to authorize twenty vessels and six galleyes in addition to the three frigates already authorized. He further recommended that in

case of open rupture with France, six ships of the line or frigates should be provided. Congress responded to these appeals with an Act, authorizing twelve vessels, which was approved by the President on April 27th.⁷

Thus our second war came as a direct result of European "divine right of Kings" foreign policies, their intrigues and their wars interfering with the development of the new American State ruled, as expressed in the Preamble to the Constitution, by "the People."

America was unarmed and desired to live and let live, to help and be helped, when these unwanted wars spread from Europe to America. It was not a selfish economy that produced this desire for peace, but an ideal economy whereby the income of the government might be expended for the improvement and assistance of all the people who formed the government.⁷

The popular feeling in the United States was much like that in the early months of the World War; indignation at attacks upon our commerce and a willingness on all sides to defend our rights as a neutral nation were blended with a strong desire to avoid being forced to take a part in the hostilities.⁸

The policy of the French in the Spring of 1798 made many feel that a war was perhaps unavoidable. "I believe the Rascals will force us into War," wrote Stephen Higginson to Timothy Pickering on March 16, 1798 or "at any rate, they will compel Congress to own vessels for the protection

of our coast, and to permit the merchants to arm under regulations.⁷

For a time, also, British commercial policy caused almost as much irritation as did that of France,⁹ but the great lengths to which the French went in their decrees respecting neutral commerce, and the treatment of our envoys in the X-Y-X Affair, went far to silence all opposition to war at home.

Congress having passed a series of acts authorizing naval expenditures and providing for coast defenses, on May 28th, 1798, authorized the seizure of French armed vessels that had committed hostile acts upon our coasts or should be hovering in the neighborhood with hostile intentions. It also authorized the recapture of American vessels that had been captured by the French.¹⁰ The administration lost no time in acting upon this authorization, and passed on instructions to this effect to Commanders of naval ships the same day. Privateers were also used in this war.

The glory of being the first to get to sea under the Constitution went to the Ganges. Her Marine officer was Captain Daniel Carmick.¹¹

President John Adams approved an Act of Congress on June 12 which suspended all commercial intercourse with France. On the 22d of the same month the President empowered to augment the strength of the crews of the revenue cutters and to increase the number of Marines serving on board them.

Three days later merchant vessels were authorized to act defensively against the interference by the French.¹²

To the six frigates which had been authorized in 1794 as a result of the trouble with Algiers, were added merchantman acquired by purchase and transformed into ships of war, and vessels provided by popular subscription when the war fever had reached its height.¹³

Every effort was made to get this hastily assembled fleet to sea as soon as possible, and orders were issued that when at sea they were to patrol the coast, pending further action by Congress; keeping within reach of shore for further orders.¹⁴

Captain Thomas Truxton had been ordered to get the Constitution equipped at the earliest possible moment and to protect the southern coast, while Captain Richard Dale guarded the coast to the northward. Captain Stephen Decatur, put in command of a purchased vessel named the Delaware, was ordered to prepare for a three months' cruise.¹⁵

The Constellation and Delaware left port late in June, while the United States sailed early in July. The Marines of the Constellation were commanded by Lieutenant James Triplett of the Corps of Artillery.¹⁶ He served until the Marine officer who had been appointed on March 16, 1798, reported on board. The Marines of the Delaware were commanded by First Lieutenant James McKnight, while Captain Franklin Wharton and First Lieutenant Philip Edwards were

serving on the United States.

The administration had a double policy: the acquisition of large ships to form the nucleus of a Navy, and the defense of our commerce against illegal interference and privateering, which could most effectively be done by small, swift vessels. Both classes were in preparation, and every effort was made to get them to sea as rapidly as possible.

The Constellation sailed in time to celebrate July 4, 1798, at sea, and her crew drank to "Admiral Adams, who throws out the signal for battle, and will never strike to the enemies of his country, the Freedom of the seas; here we plough, and shall pirates take the harvest?" "The present rulers of France, may they soon be dismasted, and lie keel uppermost."¹⁷

To the Delaware fell the honor of taking the first French ship - the Le Croyable, on July 7, 1798 four days before President Adams signed the Act authorizing a Marine Corps. James McKnight was the Lieutenant in command of her detachment of Marines, which consisted of a sergeant, a corporal, and 21 privates. The Delaware learned of the presence of the French armed schooner, picked her up on the Jersey coast, lured her into a chase, and then turning the tables, captured her. The Le Croyable did not yield until the Delaware had fired several shots.¹⁸ The captured vessel was renamed the Retaliation and welcomed into the Navy, Second Lieutenant Simon W. Geddes being her first Marine officer.

President John Adams approved an Act of Congress on July 7th, that abrogated all treaties and conventions with France.¹⁹ While this Act of Congress avoided an express declaration of war, none was necessary, for war had already begun. The Act of July 9th authorized the President to instruct Naval Commanders to capture armed French vessels. The next day, President Adams, through Secretary of the Navy Stoddert, sent out instructions to subdue, seize and take any armed French vessels and to recapture American vessels in French possession.²⁰ Then on July 11th, the New Marine Corps came into being.²¹

The general plan outlined for the American Naval Forces was to attack the French on their own ground in the West Indies. This would restrain them to that area and thus leave the United States unmolested. The plan was successful and therefore all the battles of any importance transpired in the West Indian region.

The Secretary of the Navy, immediately ordered the vessels which had been patrolling the coast to take a wider range, and planned an extensive campaign in the West Indies, a policy popular among merchants, on account of the great and growing American commerce there, and also among the men of the Navy, because the prospect of prizes was much greater.

So eager was Secretary Stoddert to have the American Navy make a good showing, that after some searchings of heart, he concluded that it was advisable that no account be

taken of the hurricane season, when the British vessels were accustomed to lie up and thus the "American navy taught to disregard problematical dangers."²² Thanks to much zeal, fifteen vessels got to sea during the year, all of them supplied with Marines, although occasionally one was ordered not to wait to complete its complement.²³

The United States and Delaware sailed from Boston for the West Indies on July 26, 1798. After a cruise of nearly two months they arrived at Newcastle, Delaware, on September 20, 1798 after accomplishing the capture of two small privateers, the Sans Pareil and Jaloux.

The end of 1798 saw the greater number of the American vessels in the West Indies, Barry in the United States, with the Constitution, George Washington, Merrimack, Portsmouth, Herald, and four revenue cutters, were on the Guadeloupe stations cruising from St. Kitts to Tobago. Truxton in the Constellation with the Richmond, Baltimore, Norfolk, and one cutter, cruised westward between St. Kitts and Porto Rico. Captain Tingey in the Ganges, with the General Pinckney and one cutter, guarded the Windward Passage. Decatur, in the Delaware, was at Havana with two revenue cutters. Murray with the Montezuma, cruised in company with the Retaliation, but was left alone by its recapture in November.

The year 1798 saw no important naval actions. The American ships of war on the coast kept the French cruisers at a distance, and in the West Indies, where our commerce was suffering from the depredations of pirates as well as

from those of the French, the presence of an American fleet was decidedly effective.

The events of the year however, were a great disappointment to the Navy Department, for Secretary Stoddert had informed at least one of his captains that the object of the American vessels in the West Indies was to "take and destroy French armed vessels." Incidentally American vessels were to be aided and protected, but it was the belief of the administration that the French policy of disregard of the rights of neutrals could only be altered by genuine warfare.²⁴

The capture of Le Croyable brought a tedious and unwanted duty to the Marines - that of guarding prisoners of war. Two days after her capture Congress provided that all French prisoners should be delivered to the custody of a Marshal, or of some civil or military officer of the United States. All prisoners, however, were naval and the Secretary of the Navy seemed to be immediately responsible for them.²⁵

Early in the war prisoners were located principally in seaport, towns, such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Newcastle, Baltimore, Charleston, S. C., etc., but later they were moved to interior towns such as Burlington, N. J., Lancaster, Pa., Frederick, Md., etc., as the expense of maintaining them would thus be cut almost in half. Marines assisted in the guarding of the prisoners at all these places.²⁵

The prisoners were of all classes. There were officers of the French regular Navy and privateers (and their wives), and seamen and Marines from the same vessels; French buccan-
eers from the Spanish Main; Negroes and Mulattoes from Haiti; white pirates and black pirates from the waters and shores of Santo Domingo and Haiti; and American renegades.²⁵ Fre-
quently they needed clothing, food and sleeping comforts, and the Marines in these early years of their history ex-
hibited those humane instincts which have characterized them from that day to this.²⁵

Upon the arrival of a vessel carrying prisoners at any of the seaports they would be sent ashore under a guard of Marines. Frequently this guard would be retained ashore for this duty for quite a period or at least until a permanent guard from the Army or the Marine Corps relieved them. This occurred when, in the autumn of 1798, the United States and Delaware landed the crews of the privateers Sans Pareil and Jaloux at Newcastle, Del.²⁵ The Marines to guard these pri-
soners were first supplied from the vessels, but in October, Major Burrows relieved them with a detachment under Second Lieutenant Anthony Gale. In the latter part of November there were 148 prisoners at Newcastle guarded by eighteen Marines. On the 26th of this month an officer and twenty men of the Army joined the Marines to assist them in guard-
ing the prisoners on a march from Newcastle to Lancaster, Pa.

The Le Croyable, renamed the Retaliation, turned out to

be the first vessel captured by both sides, for in November, 1798, she was recaptured by the French, and First Lieutenant Simon W. Geddes, with his Marines, suffered the privations of confinement on the island of Guadeloupe.²⁶

It was not until February of 1799 that the war produced its first important engagement. On the 9th of that month the Constellation captured the Insurgente off the Island of Nevis in the West Indies.²⁷

The Marines, forty-two in number, formed in close order on the quarterdeck under First Lieutenant Bartholomew Clinch. He had assigned the non-commissioned officers to their stations and prepared the detachment for action. If the Marines were needed to pull and haul at the rigging in the manoeuvres that preceded and accompanied the engagement, they had only to sling their firelocks and run to their places.²⁸

The battle having started the Marines used their muskets with terrible effect on the Frenchmen, aiming at the portholes, tops, and rigging, or wherever an enemy was visible. The great gun-fire played havoc with the French ship. Once during the action the Frenchman gave the order "stand by to board," but the Constellation drew away and the Marines lost an opportunity to distinguish themselves. Finally, the French ship, in distress, struck her colors, after an action of about two and a half hours, about an hour of which was at close quarters. The Marines suffered no casualties. One bluejacket was killed and two wounded.

The day after the battle Captain Truxton thanked the "officers, seamen, ordinary seamen and Marines" for their "zeal, activity and bravery."²⁹ In a letter to Major Burrows he highly commended the actions of Lieutenant Clinch. He also presented the second best sword captured from the French officers to that officer.³⁰ The President thanked the officers and crew for their "good conduct, exact discipline and bravery."³¹

The Insurgente was refitted and added to the Navy, a Marine guard under First Lieutenant Dyre S. Wynkoop being placed on board.³²

The task of the American vessels in the West Indies was a complicated one. Secretary Stoddert had made it clear that their primary object was to seek out and destroy French armed vessels. They were also to convoy American vessels when it could be conveniently done; to punish Americans who were carrying on trade with France in defiance of the Non-Intercourse Act, and to deal with the pirates of all nationalities that swarmed in those waters. The frigates, being, from their size, unable to enter the smaller passages, were less useful for the work that fell their way than the smaller vessels, whose advantages became constantly more apparent. Owing to the necessity of returning to America frequently for new crews, operations were far from continuous, and in spite of the constant cruising up and down, the year 1799 saw no other important engagement like that of the Constellation. However, the Americans took a large number of prizes during

the year. Newton Keene, Lieutenant of Marines on the Connecticut, writing from Bassatterre, December 13, said with some exaggeration that hardly a day passed without an American vessel sending in a prize.³³

The authorized strength of the Marine Corps was inadequate to efficiently carry out its mission. This was pointed out to Congress by both Secretary Stoddert and Major Burrows several times. On the 11th of February, 1799, the Secretary urged Congress to increase the Corps and recommended that in view of the fact that the Marines served both afloat and ashore, Congress should "appropriate separately for the whole expense of the Marine Corps."

The first increase in personnel came on March 2, 1799, when the President approved legislation adding two first lieutenants, six second lieutenants, eight sergeants, 170 privates and 18 "drums and fifes." This made a total authorized strength of one major, four captains, 18 first lieutenants, 18 second lieutenants, and 1,044 enlisted men.³⁴

Other important legislation was enacted and approved this year. On February 9th, President Adams approved legislation that prohibited American vessels from going to French ports and from being employed in certain traffic. The Act of February 25th authorized the building of twelve new vessels and authorized the President to employ revenue cutters with the Navy, on board all of which Marines were serving. An Act of February 25th authorized two docks.

The Retaliation arrived at Philadelphia on February 13, 1799, having been despatched by the French from Guadeloupe with a large number of American prisoners that were to be exchanged for French prisoners in America. First Lieutenant Simon W. Geddes and his Marines of the Retaliation were among those returning on board that vessel at this time.

Orders were immediately issued to have the French prisoners at Lancaster brought to Philadelphia. A detachment of Marines under Captain Daniel Carmick hiked to Lancaster and arrived back in Philadelphia during the latter part of April with a group of prisoners. In the meantime Major Burrows, on March 7th was ordered by Secretary of the Navy Stoddert to place Marine sentries on board and alongside the Retaliation to prevent disorders. On the 30th of May, the Keeper of the Prison at Philadelphia was directed to deliver the French prisoners in his custody to Captain Franklin Wharton of the Marines, who was in charge of gathering the prisoners together.³⁵

The required number of French prisoners having arrived in Philadelphia, preparations were made to embark them on the Retaliation. Just prior to going on board they were paraded, by orders of Secretary Stoddert under command of a Marine officer, before Major Burrows in order that he might see that they had sufficient clothing, and other "articles of indispensable necessity," so that they would not be "a disgrace to our Government."³⁵

On June 11th, Major Burrows placed a guard of Marines on the French brig James, lying off Market Street Wharf, Philadelphia, to guard the French prisoners on that ship.³⁵

Philadelphia was treated to a spectacle on November 13th when about fifty French prisoners and three pirates were landed from the Ganges lying off Market Street, and escorted to gaol guarded by Marines under First Lieutenant John L. Lewis. The three pirates - miserable wretches chained together - excited the attention of a "vast concourse of people" as they passed through the streets.³⁶

A malignant fever, called "yellow fever" by some, was epidemic around Philadelphia in the summer of 1799, and in order to protect the capital city all French prisoners were debarked at the "lazaretto," as it was called, some distance down the Delaware, where quarantine precautions were observed. Detachments of Marines were sent down from Philadelphia, as they were needed to escort the prisoners to a war prisoners' camp at Burlington, N. J. They had special orders not to enter the County of Philadelphia, but to take the prisoners "across the Delaware at once into the Jerseys."³⁷

Early in September, 1799, a detachment of Marines under Second Lieutenant John Howard escorted some State Prisoners from Philadelphia to Norristown, Pa., and remained there for the greater part of the month. The "jail was insecure, the inhabitants very disaffected" and moreover "a rescue from the Jacobins" was feared. The Commandant on September 11th, wrote Lieutenant Howard that he had sent to him Sergeant

Stevens with ten Marines, and his baggage, Lieutenant Howard's detachment was soon relieved, as the Commandant had scarce enough men in camp to take care of the tents, and none with which to comply with the orders of the Secretary of the Navy.

In consequence of overtures made through the French and American Ministers at the Hague, the United States reopened negotiations with France and sent a new mission to France. The United States was withdrawn from the West Indies and on November 3rd, sailed from America carrying our envoys to the French Director to join Gerry.³⁸ Her Marines were officered by Captain Franklin Wharton and First Lieutenant John Darley.

Fighting the French was not the only problem to be solved in this period. On October 7, 1799 Secretary Stoddert wrote to Major Commandant Burrows that "it is apprehended there may be some rioting on in Philadelphia the day of election," and directed Major Burrows "please to have some attention paid to the Navy stores."³⁹

Captain James McKnight, First Lieutenant Anthony Gale and a guard of Marines escorted a large party of French prisoners from Philadelphia to Frederick, Md., in December. This hike took them through Lancaster, York, Hanover and Tawneytown. The average distance hiked each day was eighteen miles.⁴⁰ Captain McKnight reported, on the 28th, that there were "29 prisoners in the Wagon unable to walk." The officers were elated over the fine discipline of the Marines, it not being necessary to award even one punishment. The

detachment arrived back in Philadelphia on January 9, 1800, after a fatiguing march.⁴¹

These French prisoners were imprisoned or quartered in the barracks where about a quarter of a century previously British and Hessian prisoners which the French had helped to capture had been quartered.⁴²

On the day after his return an incident occurred to Captain McKnight that stirred the social and political life of the Capital City. Upon his return from Frederick, Captain McKnight spent a day with his family at the home of his brother-in-law, Stephen Decatur, in the suburbs. Returning to Philadelphia, he sat all afternoon of the 10th of January on a court-martial. After dinner he and Second Lieutenant Michael Reynolds attended the Chestnut Street theatre for the purpose of witnessing The Stranger and its after-piece Bluebeard.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, who had made a strong speech in Congress the day before in favor of a radical reduction of the regular Army and Navy, was also present. Mr. Randolph had referred to the regulars as a "handful of ragamuffins" and "mercenaries." His "sarcasm was keen, refined, withering," and galling to the personal feelings, of those he had criticised. It outraged the regular services who were even then winning the war with France. Mr. Randolph later withdrew the approbrious word "ragamuffin."⁴³ What happened in the theatre was rather unimportant but certainly upset Philadelphia for a few days. Captain

McKnight, within the hearing of Mr. Randolph, referred pointedly to some soldiers on the stage as "mercenaries" and "ragamuffins." Later in the evening Captain McKnight and Lieutenant Reynolds entered John Randolph's box. Reynolds crowded Randolph, possibly McKnight did also; and as he was leaving the theatre, Randolph felt a hand on his shoulder, perhaps that of McKnight.⁴⁴ Summed up, the whole incident was a rebuke to the Virginia congressman in as delicate a manner as "officers and gentlemen" could think of.

The next day Randolph wrote a complaining letter to President Adams, who referred it to Congress. A committee investigated the affair, exonerated the two officers, was censorious of Randolph, and closed the incident.⁴⁵

George Washington died on December 14, 1799, and on December 20th, the Secretary of the Navy in announcing his death to "the Navy and to the Marines," directed them to "wear crepe on the left arm below the elbow, for six months." Congress "decreed that a Commemorative procession should take place" in Philadelphia on December 26, 1799, and the Marines participated in it.⁴⁶

During this war our Far Eastern trade lay more or less at the mercy of the French war ships that were stationed in the East Indian Seas. To protect it from this menace President Adams decided late in 1799 to send two frigates to Batavia to escort our merchant vessels.⁴⁷ On January 6, 1800, the Congress and Essex sailed from Newport for the East Indies. On board the Congress were First Lieutenant

Benjamin Strother and Second Lieutenant Samuel Llewellyn, while Second Lieutenant James Porter was in command of the Marines on the Essex. The two vessels ran into heavy weather on January 11th and the Congress turned back, but the Essex continued on.⁴⁸ She arrived at Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, on March 11th, and seventeen days later sailed on around the Cape. The Essex was the first regular cruiser to carry the American flag to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.⁴⁹

In addition to hostilities with France, the year 1799 produced a slight friction with Spain. On December 24th, several officers of the John Adams, including First Lieutenant of Marines John Hall, went ashore about twenty-five miles from St. John's, Porto Rico, to purchase provisions. As they landed they were surrounded by Spanish troops, and confined in Morro Castle as prisoners of war. The John Adams ran down to St. John's on Christmas Day, and the American officers were released the following day after a first demand had been refused.⁵⁰

The Administration, waiting at home, for the Navy of its crection to distinguish itself, was far from satisfied with its achievements by the end of the year 1799. President Adams threw down his newspaper in disgust when he read how several frigates were cruising in company, and Secretary Stoddert passed on in incisive terms to officers on the stations his opinion that the last way in the world to fall in with the enemy was to hunt him in squadrons.

The French, he pointed out, did not sail in company, Secretary Stoddert especially urged that the smaller vessels, (not one of which had been in a serious engagement), be encouraged to be daring and go about alone.⁵¹

These strictures were probably not deserved, for the American captains in the West Indies longed to make names for themselves by valiant action, but it is interesting to know that almost without exception it was the smaller vessels that won distinction in the last year of the war. The most fortunate of them all were the twin vessels - the Experiment and the Enterprise - built especially for the work of cruising in the shoal waters where pirates and privateers lurked. They were light, swift, and of small draught. The Experiment carried a crew of seventy, of whom fourteen were Marines commanded by Second Lieutenant Nathan Sheredine. She was the first to get into action.⁵²

One of the centres of mischief in the West Indies was the Island of Guadaloupe. It was the great haunt of privateers who owed nominal allegiance to General Rigaud, the rival of Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose friendship the United States was cultivating for the sake of the Haitian trade.⁵³

Haitian affairs rendered very complex the conditions in the West Indies. The West Indian region being the battle ground for this war, we find the Americans always careful not to encroach upon the possessions and rights of Spain, Great Britain and Holland. Toussaint L'Ouverture

and Rigaud actually dominated Haitian affairs, though the island was nominally under the French flag.⁵⁴ These two, the former a Negro and the latter a Mulatto, split and in the end Toussaint who had declared himself against France, caused the flight of Rigaud who had espoused the cause of France.

As early as March 16, 1799, Secretary Stoddert directed the Ganges to take the ship Kingston, carrying the American Consul General, Edward Stevens, "under convoy" to Cape Francois (now Cape Haitian), Haiti.⁵⁵ Do not risk going in but "hover about for a day or two to give Doctor Stevens an opportunity to influence Toussaint to invite you in, in which case it may be useful," wrote the Secretary to her Commander. "If you should have an interview with Toussaint," "conduct yourself with your usual prudence and good sense" and "usual address." It "is our policy to conciliate the good opinion of that gentleman and his people."⁵⁶ First Lieutenant Anthony Gale commanded the Ganges' Marines at this time.

Toussaint owed a considerable part of his success against the French and in ridding himself of Rigaud to the assistance of American naval forces, including Marines. American vessels furnished Toussaint with munitions, and at times the Haitian general reciprocated, in kind, to the American Navy and Marines.

The Norfolk sailed from Sandy Hook, in September, 1799. Arriving at Cape Francois (Cape Haitian) her commanding of-

ficer waited on Toussaint who received him with great politeness, and visited the Norfolk.⁵⁷ Toussaint was host ashore at a large dinner at which Captain Bainbridge was the chief guest.⁵⁸

The Bight of Loogane was a lurking place for Rigaud's forces. American vessels were liable to be captured and their crews "probably massacred by the black pirates," who "but seldom spared the lives of any on board the vessels they subdued." The native boats concealed themselves in the creeks and among the bushes. No one on board the American vessels could discover them while from lookouts in the hills the Haitians could very well observe all that passed by.⁵⁹

On October 31, 1799, the Norfolk, while near the northwest point of Guahani, with her guns housed, and disguised as a merchant vessel, was pursued by an armed barge manned by Rigaud's picaroons. The barge hoisted French colors and fired muskets and swivels at the Norfolk. Upon approaching closer, however, the barge suspected the Norfolk and attempted to escape. The musketry fire of the Sergeant's Guard of Marines and a couple of broadsides hastened the retreat, but on account of the calmness of weather the barge reached the shore. However, it was pursued and destroyed. On November 8th, the Norfolk captured the French lugger Republican at Cape Nicola Mole and carried her into Monte Cristi.⁶⁰

On New Year's Day, 1800, the Experiment with a convoy was becalmed in the middle of the channel between the Island

of Gonaib and Trou Covert, a small inlet near St. Marc. Ten barges, flying the tri-color and red pennants, carrying four-pounders and swivels, manned by five hundred of Rigaud's picaroons armed with muskets, sabres and boarding pikes, suddenly shot out from Trou Covert and attacked the American vessels. Repulsed in their first offensive they attacked several times again with muskets, cannon fire, shrieks and menaces, but were severely defeated.⁶¹

Second Lieutenant Nathan Sheredine commanded the Marines of the Experiment, and their musketry fire in this fight took a heavy toll of these piratical Haitians. Consul General Edward Stevens was on board and reported that the guns of the Experiment were well served "and the fire of the Marines continued with great steadiness and activity, we at length succeeded in driving them off after a smart action of near three hours." The Haitians however captured several of the convoys and murdered the captain of one.⁶¹

The Americans had one killed and one wounded.⁶² The ammunition of the Experiment was expended in this fight and Toussaint replenished her magazines and also furnished one "long six-pounder to serve as a stern chase."

On December 30, 1799, the Connecticut engaged the privateer L'Italie Conquise, off Guadaloupe. Second Lieutenant Newton Keene and his twenty-five Marines played an important part in this victory. On seeing the Connecticut, the Frenchman stood off, but the Connecticut after a long chase overhauled her. When she was within half a gunshot

Lieutenant Keene was directed by the commanding officer "to make the Marines fire," and their musketry fire combined with several broadsides soon forced a call for quarter from the privateer. Lieutenant Keene reported proudly to Major Burrows, that "the conduct of my men in the above action would have done honor to veteran soldiers," and that they had "fired 180 rounds."⁶³

The Baltimore engaged a French privateer on January 15, 1800 and Private Jacob Burgis, one of Second Lieutenant John Claypoole's Marines, was "killed by a shot from the French privateer." The shot passed "through his left wrist and lodged in his heart at the instant he discharge his musket."⁶⁴

Owing to the lack of regular reports of the engagement, it is difficult to learn, in most cases, the actual part taken by the Marines. There is some guide in the following circumstance. A defect of many of the vessels purchased by the government was that the guns were placed so low that they could not be used in a wind. Consequently during a chase, dependance had to be placed entirely on musket fire. Captain Murray told Secretary Stoddert that he "had frequently chased in the Montezuma without hope of firing from his gun deck and that his dependance was on the muskets."⁶⁵ The Baltimore had the same fault. Rodgers thought the guns in the Maryland were going to be too low, and the Herald also had this fault. A letter from Henry Williams, the Lieutenant of Marines in the Richmond,

was written during a chase, when all the lee guns were under water.⁶⁶

The stations of the Marines differed according to the ideas of the captains and the characteristics of the ship. As we have seen, Captain Truxton had them on the quarter-deck.⁶⁷ On the Constitution, however, only fifteen out of fifty-nine were stationed there. But the quarters of the Constitution were so high that the men could not fire over them and Captain Talbot had the Marines who were not on the quarter-deck stationed at the great guns, but under their own officers. Captain Carmick yearned to exchange his station for "the command of a few great guns."⁶⁸ When Captain Murray was short-handed he formally asked his Marine Officer to lend him Marines for the great guns but directed that they have instructions to repair to the quarter-deck when their officer needed them.⁶⁹ Preble stationed half of his Marines, under one of their own officers, among his boarders,⁷⁰ constituting half of them.

During this Spring the General Greene, on which First Lieutenant James Weaver commanded the Marines, assisted Toussaint to capture Jacmel. In February, the American vessel blockaded this port while Toussaint's forces attacked it from the land side. The General Greene had cruised off Jacmel for a considerable time to intercept supplies for Rigaud and the town had been reduced to a state of starvation. At one time the General Greene "engaged three of Rigaud's forts warmly for thirty or forty

minutes in which time" the enemy were obliged to evacuate the town and the forts. Jacmel fell February 27, 1800.⁷¹

Early in March the Boston engaged a large number of Rigaud's barges. The Boston lay becalmed in the Bight of Leogane, with housed guns in order to decoy the barges within effective range,⁷² and the Marines under First Lieutenant Jonathan Church, rendered considerable assistance in their destruction.⁷³

When in these waters, it was the custom of the American warships, including the Constitution, to entertain Toussaint and his officers.⁷⁴

In December, 1799, three French officials were brought to Guadaloupe by the frigate Vengeance, a vessel which had a long list of successful engagements to her credit.⁷⁵ She was described by a visitor in Guadaloupe at that time as a vessel of fifty-four guns, with twenty-four pounders in her main battery. Out of her crew of four hundred men two hundred deserted to join privateers, and she was obliged to fill up her crew at Guadaloupe. Thirty-six American prisoners were taken from Bassaterre prisons to aid in navigating her. Her captain gave out that he had orders not to attack American vessels, but merely to defend himself if attacked. She sailed on January 31, carrying a large amount of specie and having on board a number of French officials and a detachment of infantry.⁷⁶

At half past seven the next morning she fell in with the Constellation, which was lying in Bassaterre roads in

the hope of such a happy chance. Captain Truxton, after a period of sulking in retirement over a question of rank, had again taken over the command of the Constellation, which had been refitted since her action of the year before. When starting on the cruise he had harangued the crew in his usual rhetorical fashion, promising them the glory and profit they all coveted.⁷⁷ That glory, delayed for some time, was now at hand. On sighting the Vengeance he hoisted British colors and gave chase. As one of the Americans on the Vengeance said afterwards with cheerful exaggeration, the Constellation appeared but a long boat beside the French frigate, but Truxton was undaunted by the actual discrepancy between the two vessels which appeared as he overhauled the enemy.

On the evenings of February 1, 1800, the Constellation⁷⁸ engaged the Vengeance southwest of Guadaloupe. The Marines were assembled on the quarterdeck, under command of the same First Lieutenant Bartholomew Clinch,⁷⁹ who had acquitted himself so well in the action with the Insurgente the year before. They were almost all new men, but they were to distinguish themselves like veterans.⁸⁰ The action was one of great severity, and lasted from eight o'clock until a little before one in the morning of the 2nd. Toward the end of the engagement the French captain ordered his crew to man the rigging and quarters and make ready to board, but the attempt came to nothing, thanks in good measure to the gallantry of Clinch and his Marines.⁸⁰ Neither

ship was captured. The Constellation limped into port at Jamaica while the Vengeance was barely able to reach Curacao. She was said to have one hundred and eighty-six bullet holes in her hull, above water.⁸¹

The Constellation had twenty killed and forty wounded.⁸² Six of these were Marines. Private Christian McCormick was killed out-right, Private Kader Branton died of wounds on February 10, Private William Small⁸³ and John Casson⁸³ were severely wounded, and Sergeant James Rogers and Private George Benson were slightly wounded.⁸⁴

The Constellation expended 2,376 musket cartridges and 370 blunderbuss cartridges in the action, a good indication that the Marines kept up a pretty steady fire throughout the engagement. Lieutenant Clinch, an excellent officer, had them well in hand, and at least one eye-witness thought his behavior entitled him to be singled out above all the officers.⁸⁵ Captain Truxton wrote a special eulogy of Clinch's gallant behavior to the Commandant and recommend⁸⁶ his promotion.⁸⁶

In his congratulatory address, the day after the action, Captain Truxton paid tribute to the "zeal, activity and bravery," of the "seamen and soldiers," and thanked the officers of every description, "seamen, Marines and others," for their gallantry. The signatures of the First Lieutenant of the ship, and of Lieutenant Clinch headed the answer of the officers and crew, to these congratulations, in which they declared that such a commander "would have made cowardice brave."⁸⁷

Congress on March 29, 1800 voted a medal to Captain Truxton for his success on this occasion "wherein an example was exhibited by the Captain, officers, sailors and Marines honorable to the American name and instructive to its rising Navy." The Secretary of the Navy on March 20, 1800 wrote that "all the officers and men" nobly performed their duty.⁸⁹ The Virginia and District of Columbia newspapers carried "honorable mention" of Lieutenant Clinch and his Marines.

A letter dated February 7, 1800, written by an officer on board the Constellation in the battle read in part: "It is not my wish to discriminate, yet I must transgress in favor of the brave Lieutenant Batholomew Clinch of the Marines. His Corps was raw and never experienced such a scene; but by his manly deportment, he made them equal to the bravest; for when the enemy had manned his rigging and quarters to have boarded as a last refuge, the promising Dent with his cannonades and Clinch's brave Marines wo well received them, that they fell back and damned the cause."⁹⁰

Marines formed a part of the parade held in Philadelphia on February 22, 1800, on the occasion of the first public celebration of Washington's Birthday.⁹¹

NOTES
CHAPTER XII.

-
1. Marine Corps Gazette; September, 1922, 283-286 and December, 1922, 339-364, gives a very complete story of this war; See also Allen, Our Naval War with France.
 2. President Harding in 1923 wrote that "the memory of Belleau Wood, like the memory of Yorktown will always remain as a standing and eloquent appeal for the perpetuation of the friendship so long maintained between the great French people and our own country. It will always be an inspiration to Americans to know that they are entitled to some measure of pride in connection with their part in the World War, just as I trust it will always be a source of satisfaction to the French people that they were able to make so great and unselfish a contribution to the struggle of America in its independence."
 3. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922, 283-284.
 4. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922, 284; See also Marine Corps Gazette, June, 1924, 98; "America seemed to have been destined by Providence, as the soil which should give birth, strength and maturity to national liberty." (O'Connor, Hist., War of 1812, 7).
 5. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922, 284; Marine Corps Gazette, June, 1924, 98-100; Commodore David Porter in his Memoir, 16, wrote: "These facts are mentioned to show, to those unfamiliar with the subject, how it happened that the United States became engaged in war with its ancient ally so soon after the revolution. Were not the facts explained, it might subject us to censure on the ground of ingratitude to a nation to whom we owed so much and "without whose assistance we would not so easily have gained that independence which allowed us to become a great nation."
 6. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922, 285; See Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the Nat. Metropolis, Poore, I, 112-113, for President Jackson's remarks about the French paying their debts. See Congressional Record January 22, 1925, 2355-2362, and January 23, 1925, 2432-2436 for debate between Senators Borah and Bruce over these revolutionary debts to France.
 7. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922, 285-286.

8. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1919, 265; the trouble with Algiers had caused the foundation of a Navy to be laid through the authorization by Congress of the construction of six frigates.
9. King, Correspondence, II, 298-299; "England looks at us with a jaundiced eye," wrote Stoddert to John Adams on September 13, 1799. (Adams Works, IX, 26).
10. Annals of Cong., IX, 3717; A.S.P. For. II, 152; Stat. at Large, I, 565, 569, 572; United Service, XIV, 586.
11. Allen, Naval War with France, 63-64; Navy Let. Bk., Off. Ships of War, I, 15, gives appointment letter of Captain Carmick.
12. Stat. at Large, I, 565, 569, 572; United Service, XIV, 586.
13. See Claypoole's Amer. Daily Ad. January 1, 1799.
14. Navy Let. Bk. Off. Ships of War, I, 24, 36, 67, 80, 84; Some of the vessels sailed before Congress had authorized the commissions of their officers: (Navy Gen. Let. Bk. I, 26).
15. Goldborough's Nav. Chron., 90; Stoddert to Truxton, Navy Let. Bk. Off. Ships of War, I, 2; Same to Decatur June 15, Id.; The Naval Lieut. was to act as Lieutenant of Marines on the Delaware, and she was to have a Sergeant, a Corporal, two musics, and 11 privates; however First Lieut. of Marines James McKnight commanded the Marines of the Delaware in the first capture of the War.
16. Navy Let. Bk. Nav. Aff. Under War Dept., I, 310, 311; Navy Let. Bk. Off. Ships of War, I, 8, 9, 44; Marine Corps Rec. Bull., September, 1920, 13, November, 1920, 12, December, 1920, 12; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 341; Lieut. Triplett joined Constellation from the fort at Whetstone Point (Letters dated April 2, 1798 to Lieut. Triplett and Capt. Truxton from Sec. of War; Navy Let. Bk. Off. Ships of War, I, 165; Sec. Navy to Truxton, states he must take 1st Lieut. Samuel Reddick or 2nd Lieut. Josiah Reddick "in room of Triplett"; Neither joined as Lieut. Clinch was finally selected; Navy Let. Bk. Mis. Let. I, 88, Stoddert, October 5, 1798.
17. Boston Columbian Centinel, August 11, 1798.
18. Navy Let. Bk. Off., I, 54; Claypoole's Amer. Daily Ad., July 9, 13, 1798; Allen, Our Naval War with France, 64-65; Hildreth, Hist. U.S., V, 222-223; Schouler, Hist., U.S., I, 404-405.

19. Marine Corps Rec. Bull., December, 1920, 12; This war has been called a "quasi" war. "Quasi only as concerned political relations, real as it concerned desperate and brilliant combats at sea." (Benton, Thirty Years View, II, 144).
20. Goldsborough, U.S. Nav. Chron., IV, 91; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 342; Hildreth, Hist., U.S., V, 222-223.
21. See Chapter XI.
22. Stoddert to Adams, July 30, 1798; Griffin, John Barry, 356-368.
23. Navy Let. Bk. Off. Ships of War, I, 168.
24. Stoddert to Murray, September 21, 1798, Navy Let. Bk. Off. of Ships of War, I, 218; Stoddert to Truxton, May 21, 1800; Navy Let. Bk. Off. Ships of War; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., III, 75.
25. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 342; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., II, 53-54; Class to Burrows, June 18, 1800; Burrows to Strother, June 6, 1800; Strother to Burrows, July 1, 1800; Burrows to Gen. Wilkinson, November 28, 1800; Burrows to Johnston, November 29, 1800; Navy Dept. Gen. Let. Bk., I, 84; Sec. Navy to Capt. Robert Wharton, July 26, 1798; I, 118; Sec. Navy to Gill, August 3, 1798; Id., I, 266-267; Sec. Navy to Marshal of Delaware; Id., I, 278; Sec. Navy to Nicholls; Id., I, 279; Id., I, 339-340, 349, 352, 399, 419, 451, 454-456; Marine Corps Arch. Gale to Burrows, November 24, 1798.
26. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 343; Allen, Our Naval War with France, 73; Frost, Pict. Hist. of Amer. Navy, 360-362.
27. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 343-344; United Service, II, 107-109; Upham, Life Timothy Pickering, 328; Claypoole's, Amer. Daily Ad., March 11, 12, 13, 16, 22, 26, 28, 1799, that publish report of John Rodgers; Port Folio, I, (1809), 33; Maclay, Hist. Navy, I, 183; Porcupine Gazette, March 13, 1799, 124; Paullin, John Rodgers, 40; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., I, 551; Spectator of N.Y., March 9, 13, 16, 20, 1799.
28. See Account of Lieutenant John Rodgers, reprinted in Paullin's, Life of Rodgers, 40-42; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 343.

29. Clinch to Burrows, June 8, 1799; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 344; See also Macclay's, Hist. of Navy, I, 183; Goldsborough, U.S. Nav. Chron. Ch. VII, 130; for casualties See Claypoole's Amer. Daily Ad., March 13, 1799, which pub. report of Andrew Sterret that "one fellow (bluejacket) I was obliged to run through the body, and so put an end to a coward. You must not think this strange for we would put a man to death for even looking pale on board the ship." (See also Spectator of N.Y., March 20, 1799).
30. Burrows to Clinch, June 18, 1799, M.C. Arch; Clinch to Burrows, June 8, 1799, M.C. Arch., Clinch wrote that he had written to Burrows on June 2nd, that Burrows letters of May 30th had been received on June 7th, that the recruiting business at Norfolk was progressing slowly, and that during the capture of the Insurgente the Marines had "participated in the merit."
31. See Marshall, Hist. U.S. Nav. Acad., 146-155 for thanks of Congress; for prize money See Hoxse, The Yankee Tar, Chap. VI, 61; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 344.
32. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 344; On May 7, 1800, Sec. Stoddert ordered a Marine officer to Insurgente, and on June 26, 1800, ordered the guard to have 36 Marines (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., III, 350, 457); Lieut. Robert Rankin was attached to the Insurgente on October 12, 1700. (Let. of that date to Burrows) 2nd Lieut. Jos. Neale "saw Lieut. Rankin on board the Insurgente at sea" in November, 1799 according to Let. to Burrows on November 22, 1799; on November 29, 1799, Rankin on board Insurgente wrote Burrows.
33. Keene to Burrows, December 13, 1799.
34. The Act of March 2, 1799, authorized the President "to cause the Marine Corps in the service of the United States to be augmented, by the appointment and enlistment of not exceeding two first lieutenants, six second lieutenants, eight sergeants, one hundred and seventy privates and eighteen drums and fifes, who shall be respectively allowed the same pay, bounty, clothing and rations, and shall be employed under the same rules and regulations to which the said Marine Corps are or shall be entitled and subject."; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 344; See also Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1919, 261.
35. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., II, 136; 138, 170; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 345.

36. Times and D. of C. Daily Ad., November 21, 1799.
37. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., II, 217.
38. Harris, Life of Bainbridge, 35; Winsor, Narr. and Crit. Hist. Amer., VII, 357-365; Philadelphia Gazette, January 31, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 346.
39. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., II, 383.
40. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 346; From Philadelphia to Lancaster is about 69 miles, to York about 24 miles, and to Frederick about 57 miles, or a total hike of about 150 miles.
41. Marine Corps Rec. Bull., April, 1916, 15; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 346.
42. Hist. of Frederick County, Md., I, 141; Lowell, Hessians and Other German Aux. Great Britain in Rev. War, 102-103.
43. Bruce, "John Randolph of Roanoke", 158-165; See also Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 347.
44. The Commandant directed Lieut. James Wilson, who evidently was a witness of this incident, in theatre, on February 14, 1800, to make a full report; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 347.
45. Philadelphia Gazette and Univ. Daily Ad., January 22, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 347; Jan-son, The Stranger in America, 143-145.
46. Scharff & Westcott, Hist. of Philadelphia, I, 502.
47. Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXVI, 437; Autobiog. Commodore Charles Morris, 8.
48. Strother to Burrows, February 24, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 347; Centinel of Liberty, March 14, 1800; Philadelphia Gazette, March 10, 1800.
49. Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXVI, 437-442; Essex at Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope as shown by letter dated March 13, 1800, to Sec. Navy pub. in Claypoole's Amer. Daily Ad., June 6, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 347; Mass. Mercury, June 13, 1800; Amer. Biog. 2nd Series, 12 Poole 22, 33.
50. Phila. Gaz., and Univ. Daily Ad., March 4, 1800, pub extract from a gentleman on board John Adams dated January 22, 1800, at St. Kitts.

51. Stoddert to Truxton, November 11, 1799.
52. Marine Corps Archives, Let. Bk., I, October 30, November 12, 18, 24, 1799, Navy Let. Bk., III, 226, 232.
53. Poyen, Les Guerres des Antilles,
54. Stoddert, French Rev. in San Domingo, 262-350.
55. Navy Let. Bk., Off. Ships of War, I, 16; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 348.
56. Edward Stevens at Cape Francois on July 20, wrote Silas Talbot, who was about to go home, - thanking him for his work as commerce protector. "It is this dignified conduct that has impressed the inhabitants of Santo Domingo with a high idea of the American character. Has conciliated their affections and produced an attachment to the government of the United States, which in all probability, will become lasting and permanent." (Centinel of Liberty, August 26, 1800); Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 348.
57. Frost, Pict. Hist., Amer. Navy, 363-364.
58. Harris, Life of Bainbridge, 37-38; See also Mass. Mercury, August 26, 1800.
59. Norfolk Herald, March 29, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 348.
60. Times and D. of C. Daily Ad., December 14, 1799; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 348-349; Harris, Life of Commodore Bainbridge, 38-39; Frost, Pict. Hist., Amer. Navy, 363-364.
61. Nav. Inst. Proc., July, August, 1916, 1185; Cooper, Hist., Navy, I, 286-7; Allen, Our Naval War with France, 115; Philadelphia Aurora, February 13, 1800; Columbian Centinel, February 19, 1800; Frost, Amer. Naval Biog., 404; Emmons, Navy, U.S., 53; Maclay, Hist. Navy, I, 205; Porter's Memoirs, 29-31; Norfolk Herald, February 15, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 349; Norfolk Herald, February 15 and March 29, 1800; Mass. Spy, March 5, 1800; See also Frost, Pict. Hist. Navy, 103-105.
62. Marine Corps Size Rolls show that Private John Snyder was "shot by accident on board the Experiment" on April 13, 1800.

- 63. Keene to Burrows, January 1, 1800, M. C. Arch.; Rec. Bull., III, 10; Philadelphia Gazette and Univ. Daily Ad., February 13, 1800; Virginia Argus, Rich.; February 21, 1800; Mass. Mercury, February 21, 1800.
- 64. Claypoole's Daily Amer. Ad., Philadelphia, April 1, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 350.
- 65. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., II, 250; Stoddert to Yellott, July 19, 1799.
- 66. Stoddert to Yellott, July 17, 1799, Gen. Let. Bk., Navy, II, 250.
- 67. Quarter-Bill of the Constellation, Hist. Soc. of Penna.
- 68. Carmick to Burrows, July 2 and August 18, 1799.
- 69. Murray to Clinch, July 1, 1800, Murray Let. Bk., 71, Nav. Lib.
- 70. Log Book of the Essex.
- 71. Mass. Mercury, May 27, 1800; June 17, 1800; See also St. John, Hayti or The Black Republic, 63-64.
- 72. Columbian Centinel and Mass. Fed., April 23, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 350; U.S. Oracle of the Day, Portsmouth, N. H., May 17, 1800; Cooper, Hist., Navy, I, 284; Emmons, Navy, U.S., I, 208; Nav. Inst. Proc., July-August, 1916, 1187.
- 73. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 350; U.S. Oracle of the Day, Portsmouth, N.H., May 17, 1800; Columbian Centinel, April 23, 1800.
- 74. Hollis, Frigate Constitution.
- 75. Poyene Les Guerres des Antilles, 194; See Hildreth's Hist. of U.S., V, 269-270, for information about Guadeloupe.
- 76. Philadelphia Gazette, March 18, 1800.
- 77. Philadelphia Gazette, February 17, 1800; Port Folio, I, 33ff; Hoxsie's Yankee Tar, 63-66.
- 78. Mass. Mercury, August 19, 1800; "The Constellation was very fast, and was called by the French the Yankee Racehorse" (Jones, Life, Tattnall, II).
- 79. MacLay, Hist., Navy, I, 197; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 350.

80. Claypoole's Philadelphia Daily Ad., March 25, 1800.
81. Claypoole's Daily Ad., March 22, 25, 1800; Norfolk Herald, March 15, 20, 1800; Mass. Mercury, August 1, 19, 1800; Philadelphia Gazette, February 1, 1800; March 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 26, 27, and April 3, 1800; Centinel of Liberty, September 30, 1800; MacLay, Hist. Navy, I, 197; Keene to Burrows, March 18, 1803; Amer. St. Pap. I, Nav. Aff., 72.
82. Mass. Mercury, August 1, 19, 1800; Norfolk Herald, March 4, 15, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 351.
83. Small was discharged November 30, 1800, by reason of "honorable wounds." (Size Roll); Casson was discharged August 1, 1800, by reason of these "honorable wounds"; (Size Roll).
84. Norfolk Herald, March 4, 1800; Muster Roll; Hoxse, Yankee Tar, 76-78.
85. Norfolk Herald, March 20, 1800; Claypoole's Philadelphia Daily Ad., March 8, 22, 25, 1800; Philadelphia Gazette, March 10, 1800.
86. Burrows to Truxton, April 14, 1800; Burrows to Clinch, April 14, 1800: "Capt. Truxton, has wrote to me expressing the highest approbation of your conduct.* * * You must be content with applause, for in America further honors are seldom bestowed." The letter of Truxton to Burrows has not been preserved but the facts are established by Burrow's letter of April 14, 1800, to Truxton acknowledging receipt of Truxton's letter.
87. Goldsborough, Naval Chron., 170; Philadelphia Gazette, March 18, 1800; Centinel of Liberty, March 18, 1800; Port Folio, Oliver Oldschool, I, March, 1809, Nos. 3, 278-279.
88. Philadelphia Gazette, March 25, 1800; Marshall, Hist., Nav. Acad., 146-155; See Spears, Hist. Our Navy, I, 326, and Port Folio, Oliver Oldschool, I, March, 1809, No. 3, 281-282; for letter dated November 30, 1802, John Adams to Truxton regarding his medal.
89. Amer. St. Pap., Nav. Aff., I, 72; in a letter dated March 12, 1800 the Secretary stated that President Adams had presented his thanks "to the officers and crew" for "so nobly seconding" the efforts of their commanding officer.

90. Claypoole's Philadelphia Daily Ad.; March 25, 1800;
Centinel of Liberty, April 4, 1800.
91. See in this connection Scharff and Westcott, Hist.
of Philadelphia, I, 503.

INDEX for CHAPTER XII
Volume I.

"Admiral Adams".....	8
Algiers.....	7, 33
"American Principles".....	1
American Prisoners.....	16, 28
American Revolution.....	1, 2
Augmentation of Marine Corps.....	35
Bainbridge, Captain.....	24
Baltimore.....	26
Baltimore, Md.....	11
Bassaterre.....	15, 28
Bastile, Key of.....	1
Batavia.....	20
Benson, Private George (wounded).....	30
Bight of Leogane.....	24, 28
Bluebeard.....	19
Boston, Massachusetts.....	10, 11
Boston.....	28
Branton, Private Kader (died).....	30
Burgis, Private Jacob.....	26
Burlington, New Jersey, prison at.....	11, 17
Burrows, W.W. Major Commandant.....	12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 26, 35, 39
Cape Francois (Cape Haitian).....	23, 37
Cape Nicola Mole.....	24
Carmick, Captain Daniel.....	6, 16, 27
Casson, Private John (wounded).....	30
Casualties.....	13, 25, 26, 30, 35
Charleston, S.C., prison at.....	11
Church, Lieutenant Jonathan.....	28
Citizen Genet.....	3, 4
Claypoole, Lieutenant John.....	26
Clinch, Lieutenant Bartholomew.....	13, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35
Congress, frigate.....	20, 21
Congress.....	4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, 19, 20, 31, 33
Connecticut, frigate.....	15, 25
Constellation.....	7, 8, 13, 14, 28, 29, 30, 33, 38
Constitution.....	7, 10, 27, 28, 38
Corps of Artillery.....	7
Curacao.....	30
Dale, Captain Richard.....	7
Farley, Lieutenant John.....	18
Fecatur, Captain Stephen.....	7, 10, 19
Delaware.....	7, 8, 10, 12, 33
Delaware River.....	17
Deluge.....	2
Divine Right.....	1

East Indian Seas.....	20
East Indies.....	20
Edwards, Lieutenant Philip.....	7
Enterprise.....	2
Essex.....	20, 21
Experiment.....	22, 24, 25, 37
France.....	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 18, 21
Frederick, Maryland, Prison at.....	11, 18, 19, 36
French Prisoners.....	16, 17, 19
French Privateers.....	4
Gale, Lieutenant Anthony.....	12, 18, 23
"Galley of Floating Batteries".....	4
Ganges.....	6, 10, 17, 23
Geddes, Lieutenant Simon W.....	8, 13, 16
General Greene.....	27
General Pinckney.....	10
General Washington.....	1, 2, 3
General Washington, death of.....	20
General Washington.....	10
Great Britain.....	3, 4, 22
Guadeloupe Stations.....	10, 16, 25, 28, 29
Hague.....	18
Haiti, Negroes & Mulattoes from.....	12
Hall, Lieutenant John.....	21
Havana, Cuba.....	10
Herald.....	10, 26
Higginson, Stephen.....	5
Holland.....	3, 22
Howard, Lieutenant John.....	17, 18
Insurgente.....	13, 14, 29, 35
Island of Gonaib.....	25
Island of Guadeloupe.....	13, 22
Island of Nevis.....	13
Jacmel, Capture of.....	27, 28
"Jacobins".....	17
Jaloux, Privateer.....	10, 12
James, French brig.....	17
Jamaica.....	30
Jay Treaty.....	3, 4
John Adams.....	21, 36
Keene, Lt. Newton.....	15, 25, 26
Kingston.....	23

L'Italie Conquise, privateer.....	25
Lafayette, General.....	1
Lancaster, Pennsylvania.....	11, 12, 16, 18, 36
"Lazaretto".....	17
Le Croyable, French ship.....	8, 11, 12
Lewis, Lieutenant John L.....	17
Llewellyn, Lieutenant Samuel.....	21
Louis XVI.....	1, 2

McCormick, Private Christian (killed).....	30
McHenry, Secretary of War.....	4
McKnight, Lieutenant James.....	7, 8, 18, 19, 20, 33
Marine Corps Augmented.....	35
Marine Corps Strength of.....	15
Maryland, frigate.....	26
"Mercenaries".....	19, 20
Merrimack.....	10
Monte Cristi.....	24
Montezuma.....	10, 26
Mount Vernon.....	1
Morro Castle.....	21
Murray, Captain.....	26, 27

Newcastle, Delaware.....	11, 12
New Marine Corps.....	9
New York, prison at.....	11
Non-Intercourse Act.....	14
Norfolk.....	23, 24
Norfolk, Virginia.....	35
Norristown, Pennsylvania.....	17

Paine's Letter.....	2
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.....	11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 31, 36
Picaroons of Rigaud.....	24, 25
Pickering, Timothy.....	5
Pirates.....	10, 12, 14, 17, 22, 24, 25
Porter, Lieutenant James.....	21
Porto Rico.....	10
Portsmouth.....	10
President Adams.....	4, 6, 8, 9, 15, 20, 21, 39
President Harding, message of.....	32
Privateers.....	6, 8, 10, 12, 22, 26, 28
Prizes.....	14, 15, 35

"Quasi" War.....	34
------------------	----

"Ragamuffins".....	19, 20
Randolph, John.....	19, 20

Rankin, Lieutenant Robert.....	35
Reddick, Lieutenant Josiah.....	33
Reddick, Lieutenant Samuel.....	33
Republican, French lugger.....	24
Retaliation.....	8, 10, 12, 16
Revenue Cutters.....	6, 10, 15
Reynolds, Lieutenant Michael.....	19, 20
Richmond.....	26
Rigaud, General.....	22, 23, 24, 27, 28
Roanoke, Virginia.....	19
Rogers, Sergeant James (wounded).....	30

Saint Kitts.....	10, 36
Saint Marc.....	25
Saint Johns, Porto Rico.....	21
Sandy Hook.....	23
Sans Pareil, privateer.....	10, 12
Santo Domingo.....	12, 37
Sheredine, Lieutenant Nathan.....	22, 25
Small, Private William (wounded).....	30
Snyder, Private John (killed).....	37
Spain.....	3, 21, 22
Spanish Main Buccaneers.....	12
Sterret, Andrew, report of.....	35
Stevens, Edward, Consul General.....	23, 25, 37
Stevens, Sergeant.....	17
Stoddert, Secretary of the Navy.....	9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 26, 35
Strength of Marine Corps.....	15
Strother, Benjamin.....	21

Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope.....	21, 36
Talbot, Captain Silas.....	27, 37
Tawneytown.....	18
The Stranger.....	19
Theatre Incident (Randolph).....	19, 20, 36
Tingey, Captain.....	10
Toussaint, L'Ouverture.....	22, 23, 24, 27, 28
Triplett, Lieutenant James.....	7, 33
Trou Covert.....	25
Truxton, Captain Thomas.....	7, 14, 27, 29, 30, 31, 39

United States.....	1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 18, 22, 37
United States, frigate.....	7, 8, 10, 12, 18

Vengeance, frigate.....	28, 29, 30
-------------------------	------------

Weaver, Lieutenant James.....	27
West Indies.....	9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 18, 22

Wharton, Captain Franklin.....	7, 16, 18
Whetstone Point, Fort at.....	33
Wilson, Lieutenant James.....	36
Windward Passage.....	10
World War.....	1, 5
Wynkoop, Lieutenant Dyre S.....	14
X.Y.Z. Commission.....	4, 6
"Yankée Racehorse" (<u>Constellation</u>).....	38
York.....	18, 36

THE FRENCH NAVAL WAR - PEACE IN 1801

Chapter XIII, Volume I.

History of the United States Marine Corps

By

Major Edwin N. McClellan, U.S. Marines
Officer-in-Charge
Historical Section

First Edition
JULY 13, 1925

FORENOTE

If details concerning the participation of the Navy and Army in any operation or incident described herein do not appear, such omission occurs only because it is impracticable in a history of this character to set forth more than the work of the Marines themselves. To do more than this would extend the history beyond the scope and size planned. In many of the operations described, the Navy or the Army, or both, have been present in greater strength than the Marines, and full credit is here given for their splendid achievements.

The following form of citation is suggested if it is desired to cite, either in published works, or manuscript, any information contained herein:-

(McClellan, Hist., U.S.M.C., 1st ed., I, Chap. 13, p--)

CHAPTER XIII

THE FRENCH NAVAL WAR - PEACE IN 1801

"It will easily be perceived," wrote Secretary of the Navy Stoddert on March 10, 1800, "that it is next to impossible that a Corps of 1,142 officers and men should be able to furnish at all times as promptly as the occasion should demand, 1,081 officers and men "necessary to man the ships" fit for duty." The Secretary therefore urged an increase and also earnestly recommended the promotion of the Commandant from Major to Lieutenant Colonel.¹

Many commanding officers of the Navy urged an increase of the Corps. Among them was Captain Alexander Murray, who on April 18, 1800, wrote to Secretary Stoddert that "Marines are procured on cheaper terms than Landsmen, and are healthier men. They are generally well drilled before they go on shipboard and before their time expires are well inured to the sea service and they become compleat at the musket." Captain Murray believed that the greater number of his "brother officers" would concur with him "in thinking it a public good if the Marine Corps was increased to double the present number, for, exclusive of their service at sea," "they can supply the place of artillerists or infantry when on shore, and the great advantage arising from having more of them raised is that if by sickness, desertion or death, we are deprived of them on ship-board the moment we make a port we can be supplied with fresh healthy men."²

With all this urging, however, Congress responded with only a promotion for the Commandant. By the Act of April 22, 1800, Congress authorized the appointing of a "Lieutenant Colonel Commandant" to "command the Corps of Marines," who "shall be entitled to the same pay and emoluments as a lieutenant colonel in the Army," and abolished "the office of Major of the said Corps." This Act for the first time expressly created the grade of "Commandant," but it left the Corps without any Majors.³

Colonel Burrows requested Lieutenant Edward Hall, in New York, on March 24, 1800, to "order two Marines to the Ferry to receive my son's trunk, and to conduct him to your quarters. If you can make it convenient, meet him yourself. You can find out what hour the stage will arrive. I suppose it will be some time in the evening of Tuesday. The Marines will easily know him as he will be dressed like a midshipman. He is to go in the Portsmouth," which sails shortly for France.⁴

For many years the officers of our naval service recognized the binding force of the duel in the settlement of their personal grievances. In this they were in no way singular, for gentlemen of every class, except possibly ministers, were wont to bring their enemies to account on the field of honor. During the first fifty years of the Old Navy, 1798-1848, it is said that the mortality of naval officers resulting from duels was two-thirds of that which resulted from Naval wars.⁵ Captain James McKnight and First

Lieutenant Dyre S. Wynkoop fought a duel in the summer of 1799. This meeting cleared up the strained relations and they later became warm friends.⁶ About November 18, 1799, a duel was fought between First Lieutenant Anthony Gale, of the Ganges, and Lieutenant Allen Mackenzie of the same ship, in which the latter was mortally wounded.⁷

An epidemic of duels arrived in the Spring of 1800. About March, 1800, First Lieutenant Benjamin Strother, attached to the Congress, shot a Captain Tucker through the body in a duel at Norfolk at the first fire, but fortunately Tucker recovered. In a letter to Lieutenant Strother on March 31, 1800, Major Burrows lamented the necessity of the duel, was happy that he had been successful, and hoped that his "cause was a just one." Major Burrows also wrote that he believed that "amongst officers, duelling is sometime necessary," but that "great caution ought to be used," and that he thought "a duellist a horrid character."⁸

Second Lieutenant Samuel Llewellyn fought a duel in the Spring of 1800. On April 24, 1800, a Naval Officer for whom First Lieutenant Benjamin Strother, of the Congress, acted as second, killed another naval officer in a duel at Norfolk, Va.⁹ First Lieutenant John L. Lewis mortally wounded First Lieutenant Philip Edwards at Baltimore, in a duel with pistols, on May 9, 1800, Edwards dying on October 16, 1800.¹⁰

Lieutenant Henry Caldwell was struck by one of the Lieutenants of the Trumbull in the Fall of 1800. Lieutenant Colonel Burrows informed him on September 22, 1800, that

"a blow ought never to be forgiven, and without you wipe away this insult offered to the Marine Corps, you cannot expect to join our officers." The Commandant referred Caldwell to the example set by Lieutenant Strother, who had to shoot an officer who had insulted him to restore politeness on the ship. "I am no advocate of duelling," wrote the Commandant, "but if a man is forced into a quarrel, he ought to go through with it like a man." The Commandant wrote to Captain Carmick, asking him to act as second to Caldwell. The duel was not fought, however, as Lieutenant Caldwell, who had already challenged his opponent, had received an apology from him. Lieutenant Caldwell's decision to close the incident received the approval of his Commandant, who wrote him on October 8, 1800, that "it is never beneath a gentleman and a man of spirit to confess his error, and I should rather have the better opinion of a man for doing it. You should not push matters to extremity."

First Lieutenant Edward Hall of the Adams, acted as second at Cape Francois, Haiti, on March 17, 1801, to Lieutenant Tinner (or Turner) of the Navy, in a duel in which Lieutenant Van Rennselaer of the Navy, the challenger was mortally wounded.¹¹

After a chase of four hours on April 3, 1800, the John Adams captured the French privateer La Jason near Martinique. The Marines of the John Adams were commanded by First Lieutenant John Hall.¹²

Between March and May, 1800, off St. Kitts, the Enter-

prise captured the Citoyenne and Cygne. Private Michael Magill was killed and Private John W. Neal had his hand blown off above the wrist. The Enterprise carried a Marine Guard of sixteen Marines under a Sergeant whom her commanding officer had taken with him from the Montezuma.¹³

The Enterprise captured the privateer L'Aigle after an action that lasted only fifteen minutes on July 9th, off Guadeloupe. The Enterprise had one Marine and three seamen wounded. Her commanding officer, falling in with Captain McKnight on board the Philadelphia after this action, spoke "highly of the conduct of Sergeant Heyler and his men."¹⁴

The most noteworthy engagement of the Enterprise was the capture of the Flambeau near Dominica in which the Marines distinguished themselves.¹⁵

In May of this year occurred one of the most stirring events of the war - the cutting out of the Sandwich, a French letter of marque, from under the guns of the fort at Puerto Plata, Santo Domingo. Commodore Talbot manned the sloop Sally at sea from the Constitution with about ninety Marines and Bluejackets. Captain Daniel Carmick and First Lieutenant William Amory officered the Marines.¹⁶

Commodore Talbot directed that Lieutenant Isaac Hull, of the Navy, should command the expedition afloat but that on shore Captain Carmick should be in command. On May 11th, at about noon, the Sally entered the harbor of Puerto Plata and ran alongside the Sandwich. Everybody except one officer remained below until they received orders to board

from the observing officer on deck. After being cooped up in the small vessel for twelve hours "the men went on board like devils," reported Captain Carmick, "and it was as much as the First Lieutenant and myself could do to prevent blood being spilt."¹⁶

After the Sandwich was captured, the Marines waded to the beach in water "up to their necks" and spiked all the cannon in the fort before its commanding officer had time to prepare for defense, or to obtain help from the city. It was a quick job, Captain Carmick's Marines being back on board the Sandwich in about an hour from the time she was captured. The ship was soon in order, men stationed at cannon, and the Marines ready "to oppose all their forces," which was understood to be 500 men. Captain Carmick reported that the exploit, cooped up in a small vessel for twelve hours put him "in mind of the wooden horse at Troy." The Sandwich was taken out next morning and joined the Constitution.¹⁶

Captain Talbot expressed great gratitude to his three officers "for their avidity in undertaking to execute this enterprize, and for the handsome manner in which they performed this brave and daring undertaking."¹⁷ This was a spectacular affair, but in accomplishing it the neutrality of a Spanish port had been violated, and after the prize had been sent to New York it had to be given up.¹⁸

By May, 1800, it was concluded that the Army would not have an opportunity to engage the enemy, and on the 14th of

that month the President approved legislation making large reductions, and the Marine Corps took advantage of the opportunity to recruit the best of the soldiers discharged.

The Insurgente¹⁹ and Pickering²⁰ were both lost at sea during the year 1800. The Insurgente sailed from port in July, 1800, and the Pickering in August, 1800. Second Lieutenant Dyre S. Wynkoop²¹ was lost on the former. Sergeant Simon Williams commanded the guard on the latter. It is supposed that these went down in the great equinoctial gale of September, 1800.²² Each of these was "one of those calamitous founderingings at sea in which the mystery of an unseen fate deepens: the shades of death and darkens the depths of sorrow - leaving the hearts of far distant friends ~~as~~ prey to a long agony of hope and fear - only to be solved in an agony still deeper."²³

Marines guarded prisoners of war at Frederick, Md., from 1799 to 1800. At first they assisted the Army, but in July, 1800, they took charge. About June 6, 1800, Sergeant Spears with eleven Marines started the long hike from Philadelphia to Frederick, and about the same date First Lieutenant Benjamin Strother was detailed to command the Marines at the latter town. He was relieved by Second Lieutenant John Johnson on July 1st and proceeded to Washington, D.C., for duty. This post was maintained at Frederick until the middle of December when, after repeated requests of the Commandant, it was relieved by the Army, the fifty Marines at that town being urgently needed, among

other things to "Marine" the frigates "before the ice makes in the River." Lieutenant Johnson sent Sergeant Spears with twelve men to Philadelphia, a smaller detachment to pick up a deserter at Carlisle, Pa., and led the remainder on a three days march to Washington, D. C. The Commandant instructed Lieutenant Johnson that when the detachment approached Georgetown the "men must be shaved, their heads combed and be made to look decent," and to let him know as they approached, as he would send them a "drummer and a fifer."

The Experiment captured the privateer Deux Amis on September 1st, after an engagement of only ten minutes.²⁴ Her Captain seems to have thought the Experiment a merchant vessel, for he allowed her to come within range when the Experiment opened such an effective fire that the privateer surrendered.²⁵

When the Experiment captured the La Diana, off Bermuda, on October 1, 1800, a rather important personage was bagged in the person of Rigaud.²⁶ The Commanding Officer of the Experiment reported: "This is the man, Sir, who has wrested from my countrymen, millions; the depredations, the piracies, plunder and murders he has committed on my fellow citizens are only too well known in the United States." Rigaud was landed at St. Kitts, and lived to return to Haiti with General LeClerc in 1801.²⁶

A short time later, on November 16th, in the neighborhood of Antigua, the Experiment engaged the Louisa Bridger

an English vessel. Coming alongside ordered the captain to heave to, and when he failed to do so fired a gun. By that time the Louisa Bridger had all hands at quarters, and a four hour engagement took place according to her captain - forty minutes according to the American account. When she struck and Stewart learned her nationality he did his best to repair the damage he had done. The Experiment had one killed and two wounded in the action.²⁷

In the tense feeling that marked the political campaign of the Fall of 1800 and which resulted in the overthrow of the Federal Party and the passing of the control of the government to their opponents, all manifestations of authority for the central government, were scrutinized with jealous fear. This phase of the political situation was illustrated at the election for members of the Maryland legislature held at Georgetown on the 6th of October, 1800. In the previous spring the arrangement of election districts in Maryland had been changed, and Georgetown had been made the polling place of the fifth district, including all that part of Montgomery County lying within the territory of Columbia.²⁸

On the day of election a file of Marines in command of a sergeant appeared at the voting place at Georgetown, for the purpose, as explained, of arresting any enlisted men who might be found there and bringing them back to the quarters where they had been ordered to be restricted for the day. To the editor of the Cabinet this appearance "at the

hustings" of soldiers "with fixed bayonets" furnished "sufficient cause for contesting and annulling the election in this county. It is apparent that the event created much comment at the polls. "The accumulated indignation of the citizens" was given as a reason in the Cabinet for the withdrawal of the soldiers, while according to the editor of the Federalist an explanation of the circumstances allayed all indignation.²⁸

No doubt the "accumulated indignation" which the Cabinet reports as having marked the temper of the crowd received some accretions from the mind of the writers whose article was written when a count of the votes showed that the Federalists were in the majority in the election district. A similar return came from Bladensburg, which was the voting place of the district of Prince George County, which included the city of Washington.²⁸

The frigate Boston carried a guard of Marines under First Lieutenant Jonathan Church. She had distinguished herself when she destroyed the pirate force in the Bight of Leogane, and her next exploit was one of the most famous events of the war. Cruising between Boston and Guadeloupe on October 12th, about 600 miles northeast of Guadeloupe, she engaged the famous French corvette Berceau. A spirited action began within pistol shot. The French musketry fire was constant, with intervals only for reloading, and was returned in a similar spirit by the Marines of the Boston. The great guns on both sides did much damage. The Berceau

had thirty-four killed and eighteen wounded out of a crew of 200; the Boston had seven killed and eight wounded out of a crew of 230;²⁹ of the casualties to Marines, Private William McKee was killed in the action and Fifer Thomas Hartley was mortally wounded.³⁰ The Berceau carried sixty Marines while the Boston had only thirty. Lieutenant Church in his report to the Commandant commended the services of the Marines, naming two of them especially. On November 27, 1800, the Commandant congratulated Lieutenant Church on "the success of the Boston," and that he hoped "Captain Little will give the Marines the share of merit due them, as it will be a stimulus to their future good conduct." He was also "glad to hear that Morley and Fanning behaved well." But the Commandant's hope that the Marines would have the encouragement that comes from public recognition, was not destined to be fulfilled, for Captain Little simply reported that "the officers and crew of the Boston, without an exception, discovered courage and firmness during the action."³¹ The Berceau was restored to France after peace arrived.³²

One of the last episodes of the war in which the Marines played a prominent part took place on the Dutch Island of Curacao, where a good deal of trade was carried on by Americans. It will be remembered that the Vengeance, after her disastrous battle with the Constellation had limped into Curacao. It was a Dutch Island and the Government refused to assist in the repair of the French war vessel. The

French then despatched a large force from Guadeloupe to take the island. American citizens and their property suffered severely in that operation, which by September, 1800, resulted in the French controlling all the island except the forts, into which the Dutch withdrew. Some Americans voluntarily joined the garrisons of the forts. The Merrimack and Patapsco, in answer to a call for assistance, appeared off Curacao on the 22nd. The Dutch held two forts and had placed the Island under British protection, but the French dominated affairs. A large number of armed French vessels were lying close under the forts.

In order to relieve the pressure, the Patapsco, reinforced with twenty Marines of First Lieutenant David Stickney's guard of the Merrimack, entered the harbor on the 23rd. She was fired upon from windows and roofs of houses. She ran up to within pistol shot of the fort, and her cannon and musketry returned with interest, the fire from the guns of the fort, and from the French troops crowded on roofs and in windows. The musketry fire was incessant. The officers and men of the Patapsco won commendation for their "enthusiasm and good conduct." For more than two hours the fire was kept up, at half gunshot, until the French fire was practically silenced, although desultory firing continued that night and the following day. Two Americans were wounded. The next day a landing party, commanded by Second Lieutenant James Middleton of the Patapsco, landed and assisted in the defense. ³³ They went to the aid of one of the Town

batteries, and were stationed where they would have to bear the brunt of the expected assault. The French kept up a constant fire all the next day, but took to their ships precipitately during the night. The Merrimack entered the harbor the next morning, the 25th, and the British warship Nereid later took possession.³⁴

The actions above related are the more notable ones of the year 1800. There were many minor engagements, and many prizes were taken. Negotiations with France had been going on throughout the period of conflict, and they finally resulted in a convention agreed upon at Paris in September. However, as the news of the convention was long in reaching America and there was much doubt as to its ratification, hostilities continued without interruption. On November 18th, the Secretary of the Navy issued instructions that American vessels should be devoted especially to the protection of commerce, avoiding conflict with vessels belonging to the French Navy unless they were attacking our commerce. This policy remained unchanged, even while the treaty was before the Senate.³⁵

Early in 1801, the Delaware had a skirmish with an English privateer. First Lieutenant Thomas Wharton, her Marine Officer, reported to his Commandant on February 15, 1801 from Havana that "the Marines acquitted themselves extremely well"; that the Delaware was "at anchor when they attacked us, and under our stern. In this position, our cannons were useless. Of course the injury they sustained was

done by the Marines."³⁶

About the same time Corporal Beeby, one of Sergeant James P. Mix's Marines on the Trumbull, was "wounded by a ball he received in his arm in a skirmish with a French 18-gun brig." He was sent ashore to the hospital when the ship arrived at New London in March, 1801.³⁷

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Burrows wrote to Captain Franklin Wharton on January 24, 1801, that the Senate had "refused to ratify the Treaty", which made him think that the Secretary of the Navy would "be ordering all his ships out immediately" and of course this would "require much activity on our part." Then on January 30, 1801, Secretary Stoddert wrote that since the Senate had not yet disposed of the treaty and that it probably would not do so without modifications and ~~as~~ it was not likely that "depredations on our commerce" would cease until "ratification, so that our vessels will continue to cruise."³⁸

Six French vessels had been captured in 1801. During the entire War forty-two French vessels, including revenue cutters, had been at sea; eighty prizes were taken of which three were returned, eight acquitted as illegal captures, sixty-eight condemned and sold, and the Retaliation which had been captured from the French and retaken by them. She was the only American war ship to strike her colors during the War, but the United States lost a considerable number of merchantmen.

The Treaty of Peace with France was ratified by the

Senate on February 3, 1801, and proclaimed by the President on the 18th. On March 28, 1801, the Commandant wrote to Second Lieutenant Robert Greenleaf, in Boston, that "the ships are all ordered in and all the small detachments will be brought on shore and the eldest officers on shore will command."³⁹

Second Lieutenant Thomas Barclay was the Marine Officer of the Maryland, that sailed from Baltimore carrying the treaty to France, on March 21, 1801.⁴⁰ The frigate Boston, with Mr. Livingston (Minister to France) on board, sailed from New York on July 15, 1801.

Peace being assured, it became necessary to repatriate prisoners of war, and the Marines performed an important part of this duty. Those prisoners at Frederick, Md., were escorted to Washington in May, by a detachment of Marines under Second Lieutenant Presley N. O'Bannon.⁴¹

These prisoners were designated to form part of the crew of the Berceau, which under the terms of the treaty of peace was returned to France, and the duty of getting them to New York fell upon Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Burrows under orders of the Secretary of the Navy.⁴² He engaged the sloop Hilliard to transport sixty-nine prisoners for \$8.00 a head. At the request of Captain Hand, commanding the Hilliard, a Marine guard, for which there was to be charged no passage or subsistence, was placed on board.⁴³ The sloop sailed from Washington for New York on May 18, 1801.⁴⁴

These years of warfare are an important period in the history of the American naval forces. They brought about the establishment of a Navy Department and a Marine Corps, and the building up of a small but efficient Navy. They had given prestige and popularity to the sea service. They had accustomed officers, men, and Marines to the business of fighting, and the effects of that training showed themselves very clearly in the men who were to distinguish themselves in the coming struggle in the Mediterranean, and later in the War of 1812. The opening year of the French War saw the establishment of the Marine Corps as a separate entity, and while in the months that followed its organization was being perfected on land its officers and men were playing an honorable part upon the sea, and establishing those traditions of staidness, resourcefulness and courage which it has been the pride of the Marines to maintain from that day to this.

With peace came deflation. The act of March 3, 1801, authorized the sale of all naval vessels except the frigates United States, Constitution, President, Chesapeake, Philadelphia, Constellation, Congress, New York, Boston, Essex, Adams, John Adams, and General Greene. The President also retained the Enterprise. Only six of these vessels were to be kept in active commission, but with only two-thirds of the war-crew. Twenty ships and nine galleys were sold. The other frigates were ordered laid up with a small naval personnel and a Marine guard of one sergeant, one

corporal and eight Marines on each.⁴⁵

In June, 1801, a "fatigue party" of fifty Marines properly officered was detailed by Burrows to march every morning at 5:00 a.m., with provisions for the day, to the Navy Yard on the Eastern Branch, for the "purpose of assisting in discharging the frigates to be laid up in ordinary, of their guns, stores," etc.

Secretary of the Navy Stoddert had argued unavailingly with Congress in efforts to maintain a strong Marine Corps. On the 12th of January he had informed Congress that it was "certainly one of the most useful Corps belonging to the United States; and is particularly advantageous in facilitating the means, and lessening the expense of manning our ships; and affords to every vessel a body of experienced and disciplined men, always prepared for action." The "war expense of this Corps is \$270,957.98 per annum," he wrote, while "in peace the expense might be reduced to \$207,310.00."

While the Act of March 3, 1801, did not expressly provide that the Marine Corps should be reduced, it did as a matter of fact bring a material reduction, the extent of which depended upon the discretion of the President. A proposed provision of this Act authorizing the President "to discharge any part of the Marine Corps which may be unnecessary for the naval service" passed the House 53 to 40, but failed to get into the bill. A long article in the press congratulated Congress on this naval reduction and

concluded with the statement that "no remarks are made in relation to the Marine Corps, as the measures of our future President (Jefferson), on whose direction its continuance is to depend, cannot yet be ascertained."⁴⁶ The Marines, at sea, hearing exaggerations of the possible decrease, were much worried. An officer on board the Constellation wrote the Commandant in March that "to-day we are informed that the Marine Corps is to be disbanded." Many others were equally perturbed.⁴⁷

NOTES.
CHAPTER XIII

1. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 352.
2. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 352; Murray to Secretary of the Navy, April 18, 1800, Murray's Letter Book, Navy Department, 60.
3. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 352; See also Clark, Hist. Navy, (1813), 120; Marine Corps Archives; Statutes at Large.
4. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 353; William Burrows son of the Commandant, was killed while commanding the Enterprise in action with the Boxer on September 4, 1813. The Portsmouth arrived at Norfolk from France in December 5, 1800, with Governor Davies (one of our Ambassadors) with a treaty of amity and commerce with the French Republic, and the Commandant had the pleasure of greeting his son. (Museum & Was. & Geo. Ad., December 17, 1800.
5. Nav. Inst. Proc., December, 1909, 1155; See also Sabine, Duels and Duelling.
6. Letter, June 10, 1799, Carmick to Burrows, Marine Corps Archives and in Marine Corps Rec. Bull., May, 1916, II, 13; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 346.
7. Times and Daily Ad., D.C., November 25, 1799; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 347.
8. Burrows to Strother, March 31, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 353 and, of course, Major Burrows referred to a professional duellist.
9. Marine Corps Rec. Bull., August, 1916, 15; probably Mr. Dubose (See Let. Burrows to Llewellyn, May 10, 1800, M.C. Arch.); Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 353.
10. Burrows to Clark, May 28, 1800; Burrows to Edwards; May 30, 1800; Burrows to Robert G. Harper, June 10, 1800; Burrows to Edward Hall, June 20, 1800; Lewis to Burrows, July 2, 1800; Burrows to Clark, October 18, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 353.
11. Letter, August 12, 1801, Secretary of the Navy to John Pollard in Philadelphia; Marine Corps Rec. Bull., July,

11. (Continued)

- 1916, 15; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 362; Letter of Lieut. Rush, of Jamaica prize brig Hope, March 23, 1801 to Treasury Department states that Van Rensselaar died March 18, 1801 from a wound received in a duel with Lieut. Turner the day before at Cape Francois, Haiti (Index Treasury Letters in Navy Archives).
12. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 353; See also Marine Corps Rec. Bull., July, 1916, 15.
13. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 353-354; Maclay, Hist. Navy, I, 202; Cooper, Naval Biog., I, 131-132; Naval Chronicle, 184; Newport, Mercury, August 5, 1800; Keene to Burrows, June 18, 1800; Virginia Argus, August 22, 1800; Marine Corps Size Rolls; See Centinel of Liberty, July 25, 1800, for capture of La Cygne.
14. Cooper, Hist. Navy, I, 366-367; McKnight to Burrows, August 18, 1800; Centinel of Liberty, August 29, 1800; Columbian Centinel, September 10, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 355.
15. Cooper, Hist. Navy, I, 367-368; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 355.
16. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 354; Cooper, Hist. Navy, I, 362-364; Barnes, Naval Actions, War of 1812, 42-43; Tuckerman, Life of Talbot, 116-120; Maclay, Hist. Navy, I, 199-200; Spears, Hist. of Our Navy, I, 329.
17. See Fed. Gaz., Baltimore, Md., December 24, 1800; Columbian Centinel, Boston; April 5-October 25, 1800; Virginia Argus, October 7, 1800; Oracle of the Day, Portsmouth, N.H., October 18, 1800; Mass. Mercury, Boston, June 20, 1800, August 26, October 24, 28, November 28, December 16, 1800; Maclay, Moses Brown, 186; Hollis, Frigate Constitution, 66-67; Newport (R.I.) Mercury, June 17, 1800.
18. Works of John Adams, IX, 73; Hill, Twenty-Six Historic Ships, 137; Maclay, Hist., Navy, I, 200; Frost, Pictorial Hist., Navy, I, 364; Hollis, Frigate Constitution, 68-69; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 354.
19. U.S. Service, II, July, 1902, No. 1, 107-109; Marines who perished on the Insurgente were: 2nd Lieut. Dyre S. Wyncoop, Sergeant Michael M. White, Corporals Henry Shultz and John Townsend, Fifer George Hinsdale, Privates James Burns, John Benson, John Barr, Thomas

19. (Continued)

Briscup, Andrew Barckley, Hugh Carey, George Denton, Daniel Dougherty, James Forrester, Hugh Gunnings, Patrick Glacker, John Hartnet, Garrett Hinnion; Jeremiah, Johnson, John Keyes, William Kelly, Jesse Knock, James Kilgare, Robert Lassiter, George Morton, Thomas O'Leary, Joseph Price, Owen Reylie, William Sommers, William Shievlar, William Todd and John Wiesenfels (Marine Corps Size Rolls); Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 355.

20. Marines who perished on the Pickering were: Sergeant Simon Williams; Drummer William Penrose, Privates Elijah Eldrige, Nathan Gardiner, William Griffin, Royal Hanes, Nehemiah Ide, David Richards, Elisha Tuttle, Ira West, Jr., Joseph Whitmore. (Marine Corps Size Rolls); Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 355.

21. See Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 7, Secretary of the Navy to Rodney, December 6, 1803; Navy Register; Hamersly, Gen. Reg., Navy and Marine Corps, 897 states "Lost in the Insurgente"; Index to Letters received by Treasury Department on file in Navy Archives states "John Lindsay, Lieutenant of Marines on Insurgente when she was lost." (October 3, 1801).

22. Forst, Pictorial Hist. Amer. Navy, 388; an allowance of four month's pay was authorized by Congress for the widows and children of the officers and crew of the Insurgente and Pickering. (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 7, Secretary of the Navy to Rodney); Hist., Last Session of Congress, commencing December, 1801, 181.

23. Benton, II, 148.

24. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 360; Nav. Temple, 18; Frost, Pictorial Hist. of Navy, 387-388.

25. Porter's Memoirs, 33; Stewart, Biog.: Sketch, 5-6.

26. Naval Chron., 135; Mass. Spy, November 12, 1800; Columbian Centinel of Liberty, November 1, 7, 1800; Nav. Inst. Proc., July-August, 1916, 1188; Biog. Sketch, Commodore Charles Stewart; Columbian Centinel Mass. Fed. November 1, 1800; Frost, Pictorial Hist.; Navy, 387-388; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 360.

27. Stewart's Biography, Log, Louisa Bridger; Mass. Mercury, December 16, 1800; Analectic Mag., February, 1815, VII, 130-134.

28.

29. Mass. Mercury, November 18 & December 9, 1800; Mass. Hist. Soc., XX, 271; Salem Gaz., December 16, 1800; Museum & Washington & Georgetown Advertiser, November 27, 1800; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 360.
30. Marine Corps Size Rolls show on August 1, 1800; Private William McKee of Boston killed in action; Size Rolls shows Hartley dying on October 12, 1800; Nat. Intell., November 28, 1800; Treasury Department letter, December 31, 1805, referred to an Index on file in Navy Archives states that "William Ford, private on board" the Boston "was killed in action" with Berceau.
31. Mass. Mercury, November 18, December 9, 1800; Burrows To Church, Marine Corps Let. Bk., II, 211.
32. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 254.
33. Burrows to Henry Geddes, March 26, 1800.
34. Allen, Our Naval War with France, 196-199; See also Columbian Centinel Mass. Fed.; October 25, 1800; Mass. Mercury, October 24, 28, November 28, 1800; U.S. Oracle of the Day, Portsmouth, N.H., October 18, 1800; Nat. Intell., September 29, December 29, 1800; Baltimore Red. Gaz., December 14, 24, 1800; Maclay, Moses Brown, 186; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 361.
35. The Portsmouth arrived at Norfolk from France early in December, 1800. On board her was Governor Davie, one of the Ambassadors, with the Treaty of Amity and Commerce entered into with the French Republic. (Nat. Intell., December 15, 1800.).
36. Wharton to Burrows, February 15, 1801.
37. Sgt. James P. Mix to Burrows, March 2, 1801.
38. Stoddert to Higginson, January 30, 1801, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 200.
39. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 362; See also Nat. Intell., March 27, 1801.
40. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 362; See also John Rodgers Papers, No. 1, Stoddert to Rodgers, March 18, 1801.
41. Dearborn to Mantz, May 12, 1801, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV.

42. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 362-363; Dearborn to Burrows, May 12, 1801, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 338.
43. Burrows to Capt. Hand of Hilliard, May 18, 1801, Marine Corps Let. Bk., 327; Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 363.
44. Dearborn to Pichon, May 18, 1801; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 350; Dearborn to Ludlow, May 18, 1801, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 353, 349.
45. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 363; Nav. Inst. Proc., XXII, 1302.
46. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 363-364; A long article in National Intelligencer, March 2, 1801 congratulated Congress on the naval reductions and concluded with this paragraph: "No remarks are made in relation to the Marine Corps, as the measures of our future President [Thomas Jefferson], on whose direction its continuance is to depend, can not yet be ascertained." In reporting the House of Representatives the National Intelligencer, March 2, 1801 stated: "A motion was made to add the following section: 'That the President of the United States be, and he is authorized to discharge any part of the Marine Corps which may be unnecessary to the naval service.' And on the question being taken thereupon it passed in the affirmative by Yeas and Nays, as follows:- Yeas 53 - Nays 40." A careful reading of the Act of March 3, 1801, however shows that it does not include this proposed section, the Senate apparently discarding it. The Nat. Intell., August 3, 1801 pub. the following: Some clamor having been excited by the recent reduction of the Marine Corps it may not be improper to suggest what has already been to some degree stated, that as Congress at their last session passed a law for the reduction of the Navy, it is presumed the President conceived it expedient to make a correspondent reduction of the Marine Corps. Those who had questioned the authority of the President, will be pleased to take the trouble of reading the Act of Congress of 1798, Chap. 89. They will then find that this Act not only gave to the President full power and authority to discharge those Marines, but implyably prescribed it as a duty to be performed by him. The four hundred retained Marines, it is believed, are equal to all the exigencies of the Government. Two hundred of them are employed in the Mediterranean squadron. The

46. (Continued)

remaining two hundred can have no other employment than the guarding of the Navy Yard at Washington, the Navy Yard at Philadelphia, the several frigates laid up, and the barracks at Washington. It has been considered we apprehend, a waste of public money to retain more Marines than are necessary to perform the aforementioned military duties.

47. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 364; See also Marine Corps Roc. Bull., July, 1916, 15.

INDEX for CHAPTER XIII
Volume I

Adams, frigate.....	4,16
Agory, Lieutenant William.....	5
Army.....	6,7
Barclay, Lieutenant Thomas.....	15
Beeby, Corporal.....	14
Berceau, French Corvette.....	10,11,15,22
Bight of Leogane.....	10
Boston, frigate.....	10,11,15,16,22
Boxer.....	19
Burrows, W.W. Colonel Commandant.....	2,3,4,8,11,13,14,15,17,18,19
Burrows, William (son of Commandant), killed.....	19
Caldwell, Lieutenant Henry.....	3,4
Cape Francois (Haitian).....	4,20
Carmick, Captain Daniel.....	4,5,6
Casualties.....	5,9,11,12,20
Chesapeake, frigate.....	16
Church, Lieutenant Jonathan.....	10,11
Citoyenne, Capture of.....	5
Commandant, Promotion of.....	1,2
"Commandant" grade created.....	2
Congress.....	2,17,21
Congress, frigate.....	3,16
Constellation.....	11,16,18
Constitution.....	5,6,16,20
Curacao, Dutch Island.....	11,12
Cygne, Capture of.....	5
Davies, Governor (Ambassadore).....	19,22
Delaware.....	13
Deux Amis, Privateer.....	8
Duelling.....	2,3,4,20
Edwards, Lieutenant Philip.....	3
Election at Georgetown.....	9,10
Enterprise, frigate.....	4,5,16,19
Essex, frigate.....	16
Experiment.....	8,9
"Fatigue Party".....	17
Federal Party.....	9
Flambeau, capture of.....	5
Ford, Private William (Killed).....	22

France.....	2, 11, 13, 15, 19
French War.....	16
Gale, Lieutenant Anthony.....	3
Ganges.....	3
General Greene, frigate.....	16
Georgetown, Election at.....	9, 10
Greenleaf, Lieutenant Robert.....	15
Haiti.....	8, 20
Hall, Lieutenant Edward.....	2, 4
Hall, Lieutenant John.....	4
Hartley, Fifer Thomas (wounded).....	11
Heyler, Sergeant.....	5
Hilliard, sloop.....	15, 23
Hope, Jamaica prize brig.....	20
Hull, Lieutenant Isaac, U. S. Navy.....	5
Insurgente, lost at sea.....	7, 20
Jefferson, President.....	18, 23
John Adams, frigate.....	4, 16
Johnson, Lieutenant John.....	7, 8
L'Aigle, French Privateer.....	5
Le Cygne.....	20
Le Diana, capture of.....	8
Le Jason, French Privateer.....	4
Le Clerc, General.....	8
Lewis, Lieutenant John L.....	3
Lindsay, Lieutenant John.....	21
Little, Captain, U.S. Navy.....	11
List of missing on Insurgente.....	20
List of missing on Pickering.....	21
Livingston, Mr. (Minister to France).....	15
Llewellyn, Lieutenant Samuel.....	3
Louisa Bridger.....	8, 9
McKee, Private William (Killed).....	11, 22
McKnight, Captain James.....	2, 5
Mackenzie, Lieutenant Allen.....	3
Magill, Private Michael (Killed).....	5
"Marine".....	8
Marine Guards.....	5, 7, 10, 15
Marine Corps, Peace Maintenance.....	17
Marine Corps as separate entity.....	16
Marine Corps War Maintenance.....	17

Maryland.....	15
Mediterranean.....	16
Merrimack.....	12, 13
Middleton, Lieutenant James.....	12
Mix, Sergeant James P.....	14
Montezuma.....	5
Murray, Captain Alexander, U. S. Navy.....	1
Neal, Private John L. (wounded).....	5
Nereid, British Warship.....	13
New York, frigate.....	16
O'Bannon, Lieutenant Presley N.....	15
Patapsco.....	12
Peace & Deflation.....	16
Peace Maintenance of Marine Corps.....	17
Philadelphia.....	5, 16
Pickering, lost at sea.....	7, 21
Portsmouth.....	2, 19, 22
President, frigate.....	16
Prisoners, repatriated.....	15
Prizes.....	6, 14
Promotion of Commandant, urged.....	1, 2
Puerta Plata, Fort at.....	5
Repatriation of Prisoners.....	15
Retaliation.....	14
Revenue Cutters.....	14
Rigaud, General.....	8
Rush, Lieutenant.....	20
Saint Kitts.....	4, 8
Sally, sloop.....	5
Sandwich, French letter of marque.....	5, 6
Spears, Sergeant.....	7, 8
Stickney, Lieutenant David.....	12
Stoddert, Benjamin, Secretary of the Navy.....	1, 13, 14, 15, 17
Strother, Lieutenant Benjamin.....	3, 4, 7
Talbot, Commodore.....	5, 6
Treaty of Peace (with France).....	14
Trumbull.....	3, 14
Tucker, Captain, shot in Duel.....	3

<u>United States</u> , frigate.....	16
Van Rennselaer, Lieutenant, U. S. Navy.....	4, 20
<u>Vengeance</u>	11
War Maintenance of Marine Corps.....	17
Wharton, Captain Franklin.....	14
Wharton, Lieutenant Thomas.....	13
Williams, Sergeant Simon.....	7
"Wooden Horse at Troy".....	6
Wynkoop, Lieutenant Dyre S.....	3, 7, 20

MOVE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO WASHINGTON
1800-1803

Chapter XIV, Volume I.

History of the United States Marine Corps

By

Major Edwin N. McClellan, U.S. Marines
Officer-in-Charge
Historical Section.

First Edition
JULY 15, 1925

FORENOTE

If details concerning the participation of the Navy and Army in any operation or incident described herein do not appear, such omission occurs only because it is impracticable in a history of this character to set forth more than the work of the Marines themselves. To do more than this would extend the history beyond the scope and size planned. In many of the operations described, the Navy or the Army, or both, have been present in greater strength than the Marines, and full credit is here given for their splendid achievements.

The following form of citation is suggested if it is desired to cite, either in published works, or manuscript, any information contained herein:-

(McClellan, Hist., U.S.M.C., 1st ed., I, Chap. 14, p--)

CHAPTER XIV

MOVE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO WASHINGTON 1800-1803

Recruiting rendezvous had been established at Alexandria and Georgetown at an early date, but it was not until the Spring of 1800 that a permanent post was established at Washington, when a small detachment of Marines took over the duty of guarding the property on the site of the Navy Yard. In February of that year Captain Tingey recommended to Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert "that a company of Marines should be sent down to guard and protect the materials" on "the proposed site for the Navy Yard," and that "wanted these the losses by pillage will be extreme."¹

Acting on this advice the Secretary directed Lt. Col. Burrows to send a detachment of Marines to Washington "to guard the Navy Yard" there. First Lieutenant Philip Edwards, on recruiting duty in Baltimore, was instructed by the Commandant to despatch Sergeant Jonathan Meredith and twelve of his best Marines to Washington immediately for this purpose. This detachment took two days for the hike, their equipment being carried in a cart.¹ In the meantime the Commandant had ordered Second Lieutenant Thomas Barclay, who was on recruiting duty in Georgetown and Alexandria, to supervise this newly formed Navy Yard Guard, and to be sure to see that the men were provided with good quarters, rations, wood and straw.¹ Sergeant Meredith and his men arrived in Washington on March 31, 1800, reported to Lieutenant Barclay, and on that date the first Marine Barracks at

the Navy Yard was established, three and a half months before Headquarters arrived in Washington, and before Washington was the capital of the United States.²

President Adams left Philadelphia on May 27, 1800. He travelled by way of Lancaster and Frederickstown and arrived in Washington on June 3, 1800. "At the boundary line of the District of Columbia he was met by a large number of respectable citizens on horseback and escorted into town, where he was received with pleasure and veneration. The military of the city of Washington and the Marines stationed there manifested their respect by sixteen discharges of musketry and artillery."³

The first reception ever held for a President in Washington occurred on June 5, 1800, in the House of Representatives and the Marines attended. In reply to his welcome, President Adams stated "I receive with pleasure in this address, your friendly welcome to the city," etc.⁴ The next day "the residents of Georgetown" entertained President Adams at "Mr. McLaughlin's Tavern." Many toasts were drank including one to "The Navy and Army of the United States."⁴

This guard was augmented on the 3rd of July by a small detachment sent from Frederick, Md., by order of the Commandant. They participated in the modest celebration of the Fourth of July in Washington. A house or barracks for this Navy Yard Guard was erected at once, but as late as the 31st of July, the Secretary was undecided whether the

building should belong to the Corps or to the Navy Yard. The site for the Washington Navy Yard was not officially purchased until March 17, 1801. On October 10, 1801, the Secretary directed that a contract be entered into for the construction of a "house to accomodate the Officer of Marines, and the Superintendent of the Navy Yard."

On May 15, 1800, President Adams asked the heads of the executive departments to make arrangements so that the departments could open in Washington on June 15, 1800. The heads of departments lost no time, for all left Philadelphia between May 28 and June 6, 1800.⁵

As early as March 22, 1800, the Commandant began worrying about the transfer to Washington, for on that date he wrote to Captain Daniel Carmick that he should "be obliged to move this summer to the Federal City," and that he expected to "be allowed to draw coaches from the Navy there, as the different offices will be a mile or two apart."

Accounts call Washington "The City of Magnificent Distances," "The Wilderness City," "The Mud Hole," "The Capital of Miserable Huts," and "The City of Streets Without Houses."⁶

There is not a single, clear, straightforward, contemporaneous account of the actual transfer and it is only by collecting threads of information here and there that we can learn the material facts. Congress met at Philadelphia for the last time on May 14, 1800. President Adams issued an Executive Order on May 15, 1800, directing Departments to be

in Washington by June 15, 1800.

Arrangements for the move from Philadelphia began early. The correspondence shows that the Secretary was undecided as to where the Corps Headquarters would be established. His first idea was "to fix the Marine Corps at Bladensburg,"⁷ next Georgetown was considered, and finally Washington was decided upon.

On the 12th of May the Commandant directed his Adjutant, First Lieutenant Robert Rankin, who was in Baltimore, to proceed to Bladensburg and there look over the house of Secretary Stoddert that the Secretary had decided the Commandant should occupy. Lieutenant Rankin was directed to notice whether there was another house on the farm that would do for quarters for "the Quartermaster Sergeant and his lady;" also to engage a good house for the officers, a store-house for quartermaster supplies, "some other large store or house that will answer for barracks," and to look over the "good piece of ground for encampment near the Town," which Secretary Stoddert had selected as a camp site for the Marines. Lieutenant Rankin was also informed that since the Marines would "encamp" there was no hurry about the barracks. Sixteen days later the Commandant wrote Captain Lemuel Clark that he soon would "be moving to Bladensburg," and would arrive there the first of July.⁸

The Commandant's plans to go to Bladensburg were interrupted for on June 21st we read that since the Secretary was undecided as to whether the Marine Corps would settle

in Bladensburg or proceed "immediately to the City of Washington," the Commandant must "remain in suspense."⁹

Secretary Stoddert arrived in Washington on June 15, 1800, and opened his office on the 18th,¹⁰ in one of the "Six Buildings." On June 23rd he wrote to the Commandant that "a thousand reasons plead for your being at once in the City instead of stopping at Bladensburg;" that the "place languishes for want of a little spirit of exertion;" and that "upon the whole I think you had better hold yourself in readiness to leave Philadelphia with all your dependencies in a few days, but not to move until you hear again from me." Three days later Colonel Burrows replied that he would "lose no time in removing" himself "and dependencies" when he received orders; should "use every exertion when there, to promote the City of Washington;" and to please "let the Ross' at Bladensburg know that the Marine Corps declined taking their houses."¹¹

Late in June, 1800, orders were received by the Commandant to move Headquarters to Washington, and on the 3rd of July, Lieutenant Colonel Burrows wrote that he would "immediately hire a vessel and send" his "men, furniture and officers by" the 9th. The Commandant ordered his Quartermaster, Second Lieutenant Michael Reynolds, to Washington at once to find quarters in order to avoid the time, trouble and expense that would be necessitated by "two removes." The Commandant thanked the Secretary for the offer of his house, but decided that "it would be most proper to fix in

the City if possible." He wrote, "I care not for myself where my house is, so as I can get my men comfortable and provided for."

In this letter he asked the Secretary to "take into consideration the building of at least one wing of Buildings for Barracks," as it would "save money to the Public and be more comfortable" for the Marines.

On July 5th the Commandant wrote First Lieutenant Benjamin Strother that he expected "to be in the Federal City on the 15th instant"; that he would take "nothing but Music with" him; and directed Lieutenant Strother to look for "any house that can be got for quarters for the men and officers;" and to find out if Captain Tingey "is willing to put in repair any of his houses immediately and rent them. If he will consent, I can find carpenters who will credit a great deal and indeed take out their money in rent."

The Marines moved by water, stage and hiking to Washington in July, 1800. The first Marines arrived in Georgetown on Friday, July 18, the local newspaper carrying the news item that "a detachment of Marines arrived here from Philadelphia on Friday last" and that "the Headquarters are now established in this town."¹² Headquarters was soon moved to Washington from Georgetown, however.

The main Supply Depot remained in Philadelphia, under the command of Captain Franklin Wharton.

The Commandant arrived in Washington about the middle of July.¹³ On July 12, 1800, Claypoole's American Daily

Advertiser of Philadelphia reported that "Lieutenant-Colonel Burrows, Commandant of the Marine Corps, has left this city for Washington, where the Headquarters of the Marines are to be established."¹⁴ "Lieut. Col. Burrows, Commandant of the Marine Corps, arrived here [Georgetown] on Tuesday last," July 15, 1800.¹⁵ On July 30, 1800, he wrote Captain Franklin Wharton in Philadelphia that "the vessel with my goods has this day arrived, and tomorrow we shall go into Camp."

Arriving in Washington during the latter part of July, 1800, the Marines pitched their tents on July 31st, on a "beautiful hill overlooking the Potomac" - the same hill on which today is located the Naval Hospital. The Marines set up their tents on "the reservation selected for the National University on E Street, between 23d and 25th Streets, N. W."¹⁶ We read in Mrs. Thornton's Diary that on August 14, 1800, she and Major Thornton called on the Burrows, found him absent "but saw his wife and children."¹⁷ On August 28, 1800, Burrows wrote Captain James McKnight that "my staff are with me encamped on a most beautiful hill," and that "we are all well."

On September 17, 1800, Lieutenant Colonel Burrows wrote Captain Franklin Wharton in Philadelphia that he wishes he had the pleasure of his "company for one day in Camp that you might view our beautiful situation;" that "it is delightful and charming;" and that "everyone's curiosity is excited to visit us."

When Colonel Burrows went with his wife to return a call

made by Mrs. Thornton he confided to her that the thermometer in his tent on the 29th of August recorded 94. The previous week Mrs. Thornton and her mother "went to the Hill to hear the Band," which was playing at the Marines' Camp on the "ground intended for the University."¹⁸

On September 24, 1800, Colonel Burrows "gave leave to have it [scenery of Mr. Wignell] put in buildings intended for the winter quarters of the Marines." The Thorntons "invited Col. Burrows and Lieut. Thompson to dine" with them on the following Friday.¹⁹

On October 16, 1800, Dr. and Mrs. Thornton had tea with the Burrows. Mrs. Thornton "copied over the little Ballad Dr. Thornton wrote some time ago respecting a Duel, to give to Col. Burrows." They got half way to town to have tea when "Dr. T. recollected the Ballad and we returned to get it. Mrs. Johnson & two of her Drs. came soon after us; Mrs. Burrows expected also Mrs. Mason, but she made it so late, that Mrs. B's thinking there was some mistake sent a servant to see if she was coming. At last she came with her husband and sister Miss Murray. We staid pretty late & had a dark rainy night to come home in - but we got safe."²⁰

On November 14, 1800, a distinguished company sat down to dinner at the Thorntons. "Mr. Walcott, Mr. Dexter, and Genl. Marshall, Mr. Meredith, Mr. Steele, Mr. Nourse, Col. Burrowes, Genl. Wilkinson, Commander of the American Army, Mr. White, Capt. Tingey. They all went away early but Mr. Meredith. We had tea and coffee down stairs, &

Mr. Winstanley and I played."²¹

But while the Marines were comfortable and happy in the camp during the summer and early fall it became necessary to provide them with quarters more appropriate for winter weather.

The War Office was offered as barracks, and the Commandant at first refused, as he expected to secure barracks for "somewhat less than \$200. per annum," and a location in Georgetown was being considered.²² Finally a house was "rented from the War Office on this water side," \$500.00 being paid for the period up to the end of the year.²³ On November 13, 1800, the Commandant wrote Captain Wharton in Philadelphia that they had gone "into barracks on the 11th instant, and well we did, for it has been very blustering weather since." These barracks, of course, were those rented from the War Department.

The President "authorized the purchase of the Square No. 927 for the purpose of erecting thereon Barracks for the Marine Corps, at the price of \$4,000.00" in June, 1801, and on the 22nd of that month the deed was deposited for recording. Eventually the lot cost \$6,247.18. The lot was actually purchased on June 21st.²⁴

While Major Burrows, on July 3, 1800, had urged the Secretary of the Navy to commence the construction of a barracks it was not until 1801 that an appropriation was made. The first definite move towards the erection of a Marine Barracks in Washington came when Congress appro-

appropriated and President John Adams approved on March 3, 1801, the sum of \$20,000.00 for erecting Marine Barracks. While for several years after, Congress annually appropriated money to complete these barracks, there was a special appropriation in the Act of March 2, 1803, amounting to \$401.93, for Marine Barracks on account of expenses incurred in the year 1801.

On March 6, 1801, the Secretary of the Navy wrote the Commandant concerning barracks that "the earlier their erection is commenced, the sooner will the public be relieved from the expense of house rent." Continuing, the Secretary informed the Commandant that "with the aid of the mechanics and others of your Marines, that Barracks may be erected for \$20,000.00, which without such aid, would cost \$50,000." In conclusion, the Secretary wrote: "Having no predilection for any particular spot of ground, I leave that point to be determined by yourself. The Public have ground where your tents were pitched during the last summer and at the Navy Yard on the Eastern Branch, as well as in other parts of the city."²⁵

The next day the Commandant, in a letter to the Secretary agreed that "labor must come from the Marines to erect a building sufficient for their accommodation, on such a sum allowed but all that can be done, shall be done." He promised to "lose no time in fixing on the proper ground for Marine Barracks" and that every attention would be paid by him "with regard to economy and facility."²⁶

Lieutenant Colonel Burrows spent all the morning of March 31, 1801, riding with President Jefferson "looking for a proper place to fix the Marine Barracks on." On this date Burrows was of the opinion that the Barracks would be "fixed at the Navy Yard, about five miles from" the rented barracks.²⁷

Secretary of the Navy Stoddert resigned in April, 1801, and Secretary of War Dearborn assumed the duties of Acting Secretary of the Navy in addition to his other duties. Robert Smith soon relieved Mr. Dearborn, in 1801, however.²⁸

The newspapers of April 3rd contained advertisements to the effect that "a premium of 100 dols." would be given "to any person who will exhibit the best plan of barracks for the Marines, sufficient to hold 500 men, with their officers, and of a house for the Commandant." As described in this offer, the plan had to be "so drawn as to be capable of being" enlarged later and so arranged as to "suit the dimensions of the lot, which has an East and West front of 615 feet and a North and South front of 250." The competing plans had to be lodged at the Navy Office before the 1st of May.²⁹

"A plat of Marine Barracks" was submitted to the President for his approval on May 8th.³⁰ On May 12, 1801, Burrows wrote to Second Lieut. Philip Alexander that a "plan is fixed on for the Marine Barracks, but I have never seen it, nor been consulted about it."³¹

The National Intelligencer of May 13, 1801, carried the following notice dated May 12, 1801, signed by William Marbury: "Proposals will be received by the subscriber until Monday the 25th instant, to contract for the building the Marine Barracks in the City of Washington, agreeably to a plan which may be seen at the Navy Office. The proposals may be made for the whole or for the Brick and joiners work separate."³²

In June, the Navy Department entered into contracts with "sundry persons for building barracks for the Marine Corps," and on June 12th Acting Secretary of the Navy Dearborn requested the Commandant "to undertake the superintendence of the business and to see that the contractors perform their several parts faithfully and agreeably to the terms of the contracts by them entered into."³³ These contracts were as follows: On June 12, with Charles McNantz for carpenters work; on the same date with Lawrence Pearson and Robert Brown for brick and stone work;³⁴ and on June 13, with David Ogilvie for cut stone work.³⁵

Several weeks later announcement was made that building had begun. This was the famous Center House of the Old Marine Barracks.³⁵

By September, 1801, one-half of the barracks was already up and would soon be completed. They were "a mass of brick buildings 600 feet in length." The buildings were "two stories high, constructed with great neatness," and were "situated on commanding ground in the

neighborhood of the Navy Yard." ³⁶

The Commandant, in obedience to his orders, carefully supervised the work and in September reported to the Secretary that he was dissatisfied both with the materials used and the workmanship. A board of three was appointed to survey the barracks and on October 10, 1801, Burrows was directed by R. Smith to assist its members. ³⁷

The findings of the board were such as to cause the President to decide on October 26th that he was "of the opinion that the Marine Barracks ought not to be received" from the contractors unless the "south wing and Center House" be made good by "demolitions and repairs;" the "North Wing" be "taken down in the ensuing Spring" and rebuilt with proper bricks; all the walls to be rebuilt, "taking for their model the Navy Arsenal;" the stone foundation to be demolished and rebuilt subject to the same conditions proposed for the brickwork. ³⁸

As late as December 14, 1801, the Secretary of the Navy wrote the contractors stating that he was surprised to hear that they were not going on with the work. The trouble with the contractors continued into 1802, but the barracks were eventually completed and occupied by the Marines. ³⁹ By April 17, 1802, \$14,574.56 had been expended on these barracks and on that date it was believed that an additional \$4,000.00 would be required for their completion.

While waiting for the barracks which were under construction, the Marines occupied rented barracks. On June

10, 1801 the Commandant wrote to the Secretary of the Navy that while it was usual for him to "hire and procure such accommodations for the Marines as" he thought necessary, he would not renew the lease at that time before getting his approval, since the new barracks were "depending." He stated that "a house must be procured somewhere;" that the one occupied at that time contained "about 25 invalids and about 12 more" were expected; that the "arms and stores of all kinds" were in it and also the "armourers shop," which was indispensable. Burrows wanted to continue in the same building, however, as to make a move would be inconvenient and probably more expensive.

In Washington the Commandant occupied rented quarters at \$350.00 per year up to at least February 28, 1804.⁴⁰

The Commandant's House was started about the year 1802. Although it has been remodeled it is still the quarters of the Commandant of the Marine Corps.

NOTES.
CHAPTER XIV.

1. Marine Corps Archives, Burrows to Barclay, March 25, 1800; U.S.M.C., Rec. Bull., August, 1916, 15; Captain Tingey "came to look upon the Yard as his property, and actually included the Commandant's House in the property which he disposed of in his will." (Hunt, First Forty Years, Washington Society, I).
2. Act of February 25, 1799, provided for six navy yards, one to be at Washington. (Latimer, Your Washington and Mine, 166-168).
3. Centinel of Liberty, or Georgetown and Wash. Advertiser, June 3, '6, 1800; Claypoole's Amer. Daily Advertiser, June 11, 1800; Bryan, Hist. of Nat. Capital, I, 348-349; Latimer, Your Washington & Mine, 31.
4. Centinel of Liberty, June 10, 1800.
5. Latimer, Your Washington & Mine, 29-30; See Act of March 2, 1799, that appropriated \$427.48 for expenses incident to this move.
6. Col. Hist. Soc., III. After reciting the many discomforts of life in the new capital one gentleman sarcastically summarized his impressions by recommending it as "the very best city in the world for a future residence." (Oberholtzer, Robert Morris).
7. Burrows to Stoddert, July 27, 1800.
8. Burrows to Stoddert, July 27, 1800; see also Burrows to Llewellyn, June 14, 1800, in which Burrows announced that Headquarters would be at Washington after July 1.
9. Burrows to Strother, June 21, 1800.
10. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 357-358.
11. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 357-358; See also Washington Star, December 9, 1923, stating that Burrows was "original Washington Booster;" On July 1, 1800, Strother wrote Burrows he would "be ready to wait on" him as soon as Burrows was "settled either at the City or Bladensburg."
12. Centinel of Liberty, or, Georgetown & Washington Advertiser, July 22, 1800; Claypoole's Amer. Daily Ad., July 30, 1800; "The first Commandant, Lieut. Col. W.W. Burrows, accompanied the detachment to Washington, and

12. (Continued)
at first headquarters were in Georgetown. In a few weeks headquarters were removed to the reservation selected for the National University on E Street, between 23rd and 25th Streets, N.W., where tents were set up." (Bryan, Hist. of the National Capital, I, 370-373).
13. First letter dated at Washington in "Letters Sent," is July 17, 1800, to Capt. Wharton; another letter dated July 24, 1800, was sent to Lieut. Weaver.
14. See also Philadelphia Gazette, July 15, 1800.
15. Centinel of Liberty, July 18, 1800.
16. Bryan, Hist. of Nat. Capital, I, 370-373.
17. Rec. of Col. Hist. Soc., X; Colonel Burrows was one of the Managers of the first Washington Dancing Assemblies and, of course, his Band furnished the music. (See Nat. Intell., November 24, 1800).
18. Mrs. Thornton's Diary, August 21, 1800, Col. Hist. Soc., X, 181; Bryan, Hist. Nat. Capital, I, 370-373; D.A.R. Mag., March, 1925, 158.
19. Diary of Mrs. Wm. Thornton in Records of Col. Hist. Soc., X.
20. Diary of Mrs. William Thornton in Rec. of the Col. Hist. Soc., Washington, X, 201.
21. Diary of Mrs. William Thornton in Rec. of the Col. Hist. Soc., Washington, X, 211.
22. Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Burrows wrote a letter in Washington, D.C., August 13, 1800, to the Secretary of the Navy as follows: "Mr. Dexter spoke to me last evening to know if I would take the present War Office as Barracks. The subject being new and sudden I did not answer, as it is publick property for a time, I wish to know if it will be right to take it, or to look out in Geo.Town. I know when the Winter arrives I can get accomodated there I expect for somewhat less than \$200. Pr Annum." (Comdt. Letter Book, Marine Corps Archives).
23. A letter written December 12, 1800, by the Secretary of the Navy to William Simmons, Esq., Account. of the War Dept., reads: "I agreed with the Secretary of War to pay \$500.00 for the house rented for the war office on this water-side for the use of that house

23. (Continued)

for the Marine Corps until the end of the year, for which it was rented. I have this day paid to Col. F. Deakins, this \$500.00, all the rent to grow due from the 1st inst. is to be paid by the War Department, except \$50.00 now overpaid Mr. Deakins for the last quarter. I give you this information to prevent confusion in the amounts, and double payments." (Gen. Let. Bk., No. 4, 159, in Navy Library).

24. Bryan, Hist. of the Nat. Cap., I, 370-373; Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, No.3, Whole No.119, September, 1906, 1297-1298;

COMMISSIONERS) At the request of
) the following deed was recorded the
) twenty-third day of June on thousand
) eight hundred and one, to wit:

UNITED STATES)

This indenture made this twentieth day of June one thousand eight hundred and one. Between William Thornton, Alexander White and Tristram Dalton, Commissioners appointed under Act of Congress entitled "An Act for Establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States," the said William Thornton, Alexander White and Tristram Dalton being also trustees of the lots in the city of Washington of the one part and the United States of America of the other part. Whereas the said William Thornton, Alexander White and Tristram Dalton by virtue of the power and authority granted by the President of the United States, by a writing under his hand, dated twenty nine September one thousand seven hundred and ninety two, to the commissioners appointed under the act aforesaid to agree for the sale of any lots in the said city at private sale for such price and on such terms as they might think proper did on the ninth day of the present month of June agree with Samuel Smith who was authorized by the President of the United States to contract for the purchase of the land hereafter mentioned to sell for the United States square numbered nine hundred and twenty seven in the plan of the said City of Washington containing one hundred and fifty six thousand one hundred and seventy nine and a half square feet, at the rate of four cents per square foot amounting to six thousand two hundred and forty seven dollars and eighteen cents. Four thousand dollars in part thereof to be paid in hand and the balance thereof to be placed at the debit of the United States with the funds of the city. Now this indenture witnesseth that said William Thornton, Alexander White and Tristram Dalton in consideration of the said sum of four thousand dollars to them in hand said receipt whereof

24. (Continued)

They do hereby acknowledge, and for the other consideration above mentioned. Have granted, bargained, sold, aliened and confirmed and of these presents do grant, bargain, sell, alien and confirm to the said United States the aforesaid square numbered nine hundred and twenty seven with all and singular appurtenances thereto belonging or in any wise appertaining. And all the rights, title, interest claim and demands which they the said William Thornton, Alexander White and Tristram Dalton or any of them have or may claim to the same, or any part thereof as trustees or commissioners aforesaid as well in Equity as in Law. To have and to hold the said square numbered nine hundred and twenty seven with the appurtenances aforesaid to the sole use and behoof of the United States forever. In witness whereof the said William Thornton, Alexander White, and Tristram Dalton have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written. William Thornton. (Seal). Alexander White (Seal). Tristram Dalton (Seal). Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of: Dan'l Carroll of Dudington. Robert Brent.

Territory of Columbia, Washington County.

On the twentieth day of June one thousand eight hundred and one personally appeared before the subscribers two of the Justices of the Peace of the said County, the within mentioned William Thornton, Alexander White and Tristram Dalton who acknowledge the within instrument of writing to be their act and deed for the purpose mentioned therein. Acknowledged before: Dan'l Carroll of Dudington; Robert Brent. (The Original of this copy is recorded in Book G. Page 157 in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds, D.C.).

There being several Dan'l Carrolls in the County of Washington at the time of the execution of the above deed the name of his estate "Dudington" was used to distinguish this particular man. Dudington was a large estate in the Southeast Section of the City.

"A.E. Thomas" wrote from the Navy Department, June 22, 1801, to "Uriah Forrest, Esq." as follows: "I have to request that you will be pleased to record the enclosed Deed from the Commissioners of the City of Washington, to the U. States for square No. 927." (Gen. Let. Book, No. 4, 425, in Navy Library).

Acting Secretary of the Navy H. Dearborn, wrote to the "Commissioners, City of Washington," June 23, 1801, as follows: "The President having authorized the purchase of the Square No. 927 in the City of Washington for the purpose of erecting thereon

24. (Continued)

Barracks for the Marine Corps, at the price of Four thousand dollars I have to request that you will be pleased to have the title to the same immediately examined in due form vesting the property in the United States & deposit the same with this Department, on which the purchase money will be paid." (Gen. Let. Bk., No. 4, 425, in Navy Library); See also Nat. Intell., September 7, 1801; Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1297-1298 citing Navy Let. Bk., Gen., IV, 343, 410, 425.

25. Navy Archives; See Navy Let. Bk., Treasury; I, 317 where Secretary of the Navy on December 31, 1800 requests Secretary of the Treasury to make available \$18,000.45 of the appropriation of \$20,000 "for erecting Marine Barracks."

26. Marine Corps Archives; See also Navy Let. Bk., Treasury, I, 320.

27. "I have been all this morning engaged riding with the President looking out for a proper place to fix the Marine Barracks on. It is not yet absolutely determined, but I have no doubt it will be fixed at the Navy Yard about 5 Miles from where I am." (Letter Burrows to Wharton, March 31, 1801 - Comdt. Let. Bk., Marine Corps Archives).

28. Nat. Intell., April 1, 1801.

29. See Let. "S.S. for H. Dearborn" to Col. Toussard dated May 14, 1801, filed in Gen. Let. Bk., No. 4, 342, Navy Library, reading as follows: "Your letter of the 4th inst with your very elegant plan of Barracks for the Marine Corps was received during my absence at Baltimore and immediately submitted to the consideration of the President."; Nat. Intell., April 3, 1801.

30. Letter, Burrows to Alexander, May 12, 1801 - Comdt. Let. Bk., Marine Corps Archives.

31. Marine Corps Archives.

32. Nat. Intell., May 31, 1801.

33. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., No. 4, 381, Dearborn to Burrows, June 3, 1801.

34. Navy Archives.

35. Newspapers.

36. The following extract from an Article in the National Intelligencer of September 7, 1801, refers to the

36. (Continued)

Barracks: "Among the public improvements made directly by the general government are the Navy Yard, the Marine Barracks and the Marine Ware House. * * *"

"The Marine Barracks are designed to constitute a mass of brick buildings 600 feet in length. One half of this range of apartments is already up, and will be soon completed; when or earlier, if attainable, it is intended to raise the other part. These buildings are two stories high, constructed with great neatness, and are situated on commanding ground in the neighborhood of the Navy Yard."

37. R. Smith wrote Colonel Burrows on October 10, 1801, as follows: "You will be pleased to attend on behalf of the Government, the Gentlemen appointed to examine the Brickwork of the Barracks, who are to meet upon the premises on Monday next at 10 o'clock, and you are requested to show to them such parts of the said building as in your judgment are not done with proper materials or in a workmanlike manner." (General Let. Bk., No. 5, (36-37, in Navy Library); See also Navy Dept. Nom. for App. of Officers, Smith to President Jefferson, November 4, 1801; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., No. 5, 72, Smith to Tingey, November 4, 1801, in Navy Library); On September 28, 1801, the Navy Department addressed a letter to Lt. Col. Commandant Burrows reading as follows: "Upon the report made to me by you of the materials used in the Barracks for the Marine Corps and of the Workmanship thereof, you will be pleased to cause a survey to be made of the same by Men of respectability competent to judge and determine whether this building has been made agreeable to contract in a complete workmanlike manner, and report to me the result of such survey." (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., No. 5, 18); On October 9, 1801, "Mess'rs. Francis Deakins, Francis Lowndes, Dan'l Carroll, Thomas Law, Thomas Tingey" were appointed a board to survey the Barracks, as follows: "The President is desirous that you would be obliging as to examine the Brick-work of the Barracks lately built by * * * and to report to this Department your opinion respecting the materials and workmanship of said building and whether the said building as finished, ought to be received under the contract by Government, and, if it ought to be received upon what terms and conditions ought Government to receive it. I have, therefore, to request that you will be so good as to make this examination on Monday next at 10 o'clock a.m., and to report your opinion thereon without delay to this Department." (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., No. 5, 35, in Navy Library).

38. In the following letter dated October 26, 1801, addressed to Lt. Col. Commandant Burrows by the Secretary of the Navy, the conclusions of the Board and directions for remedying imperfections in the Barracks are included: "You will inform * * *, that the President is of the opinion that the Marine Barracks ought not to be received from them but on the following terms, viz.: The South wing and Center House to be made good by such demolitions or repairs as the Gentlemen appointed have already decided as to the latter, and shall on view decide as to the former. The North Wing to be taken down in the ensuing spring by * * *, and well burnt bricks selected by an Agent of the Executive, and set apart, and the sammel bricks, inburnt bricks, and bats, to be disposed of as they please, the Agent only noting the proportion of each kind. In the spring of the year * * * to rebuild the walls, taking for their Model the Navy Arsenal lately built, both as to the manner and materials of the work. The Executive Agent having a right to stop the Work whenever he should find it less good than the Model. The Undertakers shall receive for the North wing the price per thousand of the bricks it shall contain when finished, which was paid for the Navy Arsenal. The Stone foundation must also be demolished and rebuilt, subject to the same conditions proposed for the brick-work, making the model for that also, the stone work of the Navy Arsenal." (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., No. 5, 51, in Navy Library); With reference to the rebuilding of the Barracks, the Navy Department on November 4, 1801, wrote to "Thomas Tingey, Esq., Washington," as follows: "I have the honor to enclose herewith the form of an Obligation proposed to be entered into by * * * for repairing the Marine Barracks, which the President has approved as follows:- Mr. Smith being absent and the season pressing, I will take the liberty of approving the within proposition for Mr. Smith referring to Capt'n Tingey, who made the agreement for the Marine Arsenal to fill up the Blank for the price Pr thousand Brick which was allowed in that instance, and also for the stone work Pr ch'-. I have therefore the honor to request that you will be pleased to fill up the Blanks mentioned, also one other for the number of days, which they are to be furnished with the report respecting the South Wing, previous to the completion of it - and that you will cause the Principals, with their Securities * * * to execute the instrument as early as conveniently may be and return the same so executed to this Department."; On this same date, November 4, 1801, the Secretary of the Navy transmitted to the President, the following letters: "I have the honor to transmit herewith a letter from Colo. Burrows, enclosing the form of

38. (Continued)

an obligation proposed to be entered into by * * * for repairing the Marine Barracks and to solicit that you will be pleased to signify whether it meets your approbation."; A letter by the Secretary of the Navy dated about December 14, 1801, to "Mr. McNantz" reads as follows: "I am not a little surprised to hear that you are not going on with the work you undertook for the public at the Barracks. I must observe to you, that unless you immediately proceed to comply fully with your contract, compulsory proceedings will be resorted to."; Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Burrows received the following letter dated February 27, 1802, from the Secretary of the Navy: "Enclosed I send you an account exhibited by Captain Stephenson for superintending the building the Marine Barracks - making an estimate, plan, etc. As I have some doubts of the propriety of admitting the claim, I have to request that you will be pleased to examine it & favor me with your observations on the subject."

39. A description of the Marine Barracks, Washington, D.C., as they were during the early part of the 19th century, reads: "The buildings constituting the barracks were built in the form of a quadrangle, extending north and south by east and west, limited by the city streets of G and I and Eight and Ninth South east, enclosing a parade ground. The northern was formed by the residence of the Major General Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps. The southern end was comprised of a two story range of brick buildings and wooden sheds. On the west side by a low one story brick building with the exception of the Center House which was two, and a swimming pool. The east side was formed of a barracks and Headquarters office building, stable, carriage shed, storeroom and wash room. The entire enclosure was surrounded by a stone wall two feet thick and from eight to ten feet in height.

NORTH SIDE: The north side of the quadrangle was occupied by the quarters of the Major General Commandant of the Marines (built about 1803) and in the extreme northeast corner was a small building used as a stable for the Commandant's mounts. (Marine Corps Archives, Quartermaster).

EAST SIDE: The east side consisted of a barracks and Headquarters office building, built during the year 1801 at a cost of \$29,067.10 (two story brick, tin roof, collar and attic), a small stable with two stalls and carriage space adjacent to which was a small shedlike commissary storeroom and in the southeast corner was a small frame shed affair fitted up with urinals, water closets and bathing facilities. (Marine Corps Archives, Quartermaster).

39. (Continued)

SOUTH SIDE: The main building bounding the south side of the parade ground was constructed about 1840 (two stories and no cellar) and was used for a time as a hospital. Later the lower floor was used as a dispensary, medical officer's office, tailor, blacksmith and carpenter shops, armory, canteen and store-rooms. The entire upper floor was used as quarters for enlisted men. Behind this building and between it and the wall was a rifle range and several other wooden sheds which were used for storage purposes. At this end of the enclosure was a gate known as the South Gate. (Marine Corps Archives, Quartermaster).
WEST SIDE: A center house consisting of two stores, cellar and attic, occupied a space a little below the middle portion of the wall and was used as quarters for junior officers. A gateway located on the south side of the Center House constituted the main entrance to the reservation. Extending outward on each side, north and south, of the Center House, and parallel with the wall but separated by an interval of about eight feet, were one story brick buildings fronting on the parade ground. The northern wing of this long one storied brick building was occupied by the offices of the Commanding Officer, Officer of the Day, billiard room, barber shop, bakery, dining room, kitchen and a room adjoining the kitchen as cook's quarters. That portion south of the Center House was used as sleeping quarters for the guard, by a guard room and prison. (Marine Corps Archives, Quartermaster).

In the southwest corner was a small house containing a swimming pool. In the space between these long one storied buildings and the wall at varied intervals were water closets and fixed wash stands. (Marine Corps Archives, Quartermaster).

40. Amer. St. Pap., (Naval Affairs), I, 121; While in Philadelphia the rent for the Commandant's House from July 16, 1798 to June 30, 1800, cost \$960.53. (Amer. St. Pap., (Nav. Aff.), I, 121); The Account Book of Burrows shows \$300 paid to Col. Robinson for House rent on December 1, 1798; \$150 paid to Col. Robinson on March, 1799; and \$200 paid by the Commandant on June 12, 1799, to Smith and Buntorix for nine months house rent. While in Washington the rent for the Commandant's Quarters from August 5, 1800, to November 6, 1802, was \$1,204.17. (Navy Department, Accountant's Office, February 28, 1804).

INDEX for CHAPTER XIV
Volume I.

Adams, President.....	2,3
Alexander, Lieutenant Philip.....	11
Appropriations for Marine Barracks.....	10,15,19
Barclay, Lieutenant Thomas.....	1
Barracks, Site for purchased.....	9
Burrows, Lieutenant Colonel William Ward.....	1,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,13 14,15,16,20,21,22
Carmick, Captain Daniel.....	3
Center House.....	12
Clark, Captain Lemuel.....	4
Commandant's House.....	14,15,23
Congress.....	3,9
Contracts let for Marine Barracks, Washington.....	12
Cost of Quarters for Marines.....	9,13,14,16,22
Deakins, Colonel F.....	17
Dearborn, Secretary of War.....	11
Deed for Marine Barracks, Washington.....	17,18,19
Description of Marine Barracks, Washington.....	12,22,23
Edwards, Lieutenant Philip.....	1
First site of Marine Camp in Washington.....	7,8
Headquarters moves from Philadelphia to Washington.....	6
McKnight, Captain James.....	7
Marine Band.....	8,16
Marine Barracks.....	9,10,11,12,13
Marines first Camp in Washington.....	7,8
Meredith, Captain Jonathan.....	1
Naval Hospital.....	7
Navy Department.....	12
National University.....	7,16
Non-acceptance of Marine Barracks, Washington.....	13,21

Plan of Marine Barracks, Washington.....	11, 19
President's first Reception in Washington.....	2
President John Adams.....	10
President Jefferson.....	11
Proposals received for erecting Marine Barracks.....	12
Provision for Navy Yards.....	15
Quarters for Commandant.....	14
Rankin, Lieutenant Robert.....	4
Recruiting Duty.....	1
Recruiting Rendezvous.....	1
Reynolds, Lieutenant Michael.....	5
Site for Barracks purchased.....	9
Site for Navy Yard purchased.....	3
"Six Buildings".....	5
Smith, Robert, Secretary of the Navy.....	11, 13, 20, 21
Stoddert, Benjamin, Secretary of the Navy.....	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11
Strother, Lieutenant Benjamin.....	5, 15
"The Capital of Miserable Huts".....	3
"The City of Magnificent Distances".....	3
"The City of Streets without Houses".....	3
"The Mud Hole".....	3
"The Wilderness City".....	3
Thompson, Lieutenant.....	8
Thornton, Mrs.....	7, 8
Thornton, Major.....	7, 8
Tingey, Captain.....	1, 6, 15, 21
Wharton, Captain Franklin.....	6, 7, 9, 16
Wignell, Mr.....	8
Will of Captain Tingey.....	15

THE TRIPOLITAN WAR

Chapter XV, Volume I,
History of the United States Marine Corps

By

Major Edwin N. McClellan, U.S. Marines
Officer-in-Charge
Historical Section.

First Edition
JULY 21, 1925

FORENOTE

If details concerning the participation of the Navy and Army in any operation or incident described herein do not appear, such omission occurs only because it is impracticable in a history of this character to set forth more than the work of the Marines themselves. To do more than this would extend the history beyond the scope and size planned. In many of the operations described, the Navy or the Army, or both, have been present in greater strength than the Marines, and full credit is here given for their splendid achievements.

The following form of citation is suggested if it is desired to cite, either in published works, or manuscript, any information contained herein:-

(McClellan, Hist., U.S.M.C., 1st ed., I, Chap. 15, p--)

CHAPTER XV

THE TRIPOLITAN WAR.

The Tripolitan War of 1801 to 1805 was a continuation of our first Revolution and of the French Naval War against the effort of Europe to enforce its will upon our affairs. Apparently all European states actually or tacitly acquiesced to the system of the Barbary corsairs calling for tribute in some form or another. The nefarious system had touched America in the Colonial Period despite England's Navy. It had brought suffering to Americans during our first Revolution. Unrestrained and even encouraged by European civilization of that day, it had forced America to initiate an armament on the sea in 1794.¹

There were four Barbary States - Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli - extending in the order named from the northwest corner of Africa eastward along the south Mediterranean shore to Egypt. Treaties with these states and "presents" to them "kept the peace for many years;" but the vicious system was rapacious and never satisfied. Tribute in one form or another was paid one or more of the Barbary States from about 1785 to 1815. In order to remove that stain it was as necessary to send an armed force to European Waters as it was in 1917-1918 during the World War.

Admiral Nelson in 1796 wrote to Sir John Jervis that

he had permitted the "American tribute to the Dey of Algiers" to pass.²

The Naval War with France, 1798-1801, furnished the American people with an instrument which permitted it to use the only argument that the foreign policies of Europe of that day could understand - a Navy.

At first we find that the only Americans who felt the sting of dishonor were those who had to suffer the degradation of personally laying the tribute at the feet of the barbarians. Our Navy and Marine Corps experienced long ignominy. Not only did they carry tribute but they suffered the insults and derision of the corsairs who neglected no opportunity of impressing them with the idea that they were "inferiors." It was upon these Americans that the odium of a base foreign policy practice rested. It is to their credit that notwithstanding all this and their abhorrence of the duty, they performed it efficiently. Their duty was to carry out a policy, not to establish one.

On May 24, 1800, the George Washington was ordered to sail with tribute to Algiers. The Commandant of the Marine Corps on July 7th expressed regret to Captain William Bainbridge that he had no Marine Officer to send him, informing him that Captain Franklin Wharton, at Philadelphia, had been directed to have the George Washington's Marine Guard consist of one sergeant, one corporal, one drummer and fifteen privates.³

The Dey of Algiers, Mustapha, had incurred the displeasure of Turkey. In order to conciliate the Sultan, the Dey determined to send an ambassador with valuable presents to Constantinople. For this purpose he requested of Consul O'Brien the services of the George Washington, that had arrived in the Mediterranean in September. This request was granted.⁴

The George Washington sailed from Algiers, October 19, 1800. At the prayers of the Mohammedans they had to face towards Mecca and accordingly one of the Mohammedans had to watch the compass to find out which way the ship was heading so that the Musselmen could change their directions properly.⁵

The George Washington arrived at Constantinople November 9, 1800, and anchored in the outer harbor. She sailed December 30, 1800, and arrived off Algiers January 21, 1801, and anchored out of range of the batteries.⁶

Hostilities with the Barbary States came, not because we were sensitive as to paying tribute but because our "presents" never seemed to purchase immunity. It should not be forgotten that when those inspiring words "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute" were thrown into the teeth of the French Directory, we were paying tribute to the Barbary States.⁷

The views of America at this time are reflected in the words of President Jefferson to Congress on September 9, 1801, when he said, that like the European States "we

consented to give a price for a friendship which would properly have been requited with our own. So long as we have been met with moderation and good faith we have preferred this means of peace, rather than seek it by our own strength. At length, however, the inadmissible demands of the Bey of Tripoli, and our own determination to owe to our own energies and not to dishonorable condescensions the protection of our right to navigate the ocean freely, have induced us to send a squadron into the Mediterranean for the protection against the Bey of Tripoli."⁸

Unquestionably, the high-minded desire of the American people and their leaders was for unarmed peace and friendly intercourse with the peoples of the world. Such an ideal was not craven or to be obtained at any price - it was constructive. As expressed by President Jefferson on December 10, 1801, after reciting acts of American bravery in the Mediterranean: "It is not the want of that virtue [bravery] which makes us seek their peace; but a conscientious desire to direct the energies of the nation to the multiplication of the human race, and not its destruction."⁹ This was an American policy and not the policy of one political party.

Early in 1800, the Mediterranean "pot" with its evil contents began to boil. Algiers, of course, was complacent, for she had her tribute-treaty safely signed. Payments to her at times were overdue but she did not indulge in actual hostilities. Tunis became dissatisfied. Morocco's tone was grasping. Tripoli, discovering that she had made a bad

bargain, indulged in threats.¹⁰

The capture of the Moorish warships Mirboka and Meshouda and the presence of an American squadron before Tangiers, chastened the Moors into a reasonable mood; affairs with Tunis, after some hostile demonstrations on our part, were smoothed out; but Tripoli seemed adamant to all persuasive efforts. If there had been only one Barbary State instead of four the solution of the Mediterranean problem would have been much simpler. But like a family of uncouth children, what one received, all must have.¹¹

And so again America was compelled to arm against her will to combat the results of the foreign policy that dominated Europe.¹²

Tribute may be blamed, the enslavement of American citizens may be alleged as the cause, the violations of treaty provisions may be held responsible, jealousy of the Barbary States over the difference in "presents" received may be said to have precipitated the trouble, and other reasons may be advanced as the cause of our war with Tripoli, but the real cause was the refusal of American principles to be subordinated to the "Old Order."¹³

By 1800, America realized that "Paying tribute at the point of the gun," was a strange bedfellow for that stirring battle cry of the Revolution - "Taxation without representation is tyranny!" None of us have pleasant sensations when we read of the thirty years we submitted

to the overbearing and insolent attitude of the Barbary States, but we do enjoy the realization that American ideals and principles finally threw off the poison. That America did eventually discard this system of bribing barbaric states, and why she did, is infinitely more important than just how she did.¹⁴

The treaty that brought the Naval War with France to an end was ratified on the 3d of February, 1801. One month later the Peace Establishment Act of March 3rd, as has been related, reduced the Navy and the Marine Corps despite potential hostilities in the Mediterranean.

Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1801. Just a little over two months later, on May 10th, the third effort of the United States to regain a status of defensive disarmament was rudely frustrated, on May 14th, by the Bashaw of Tripoli who emphasized his declaration of war against us by cutting¹⁵ down the flagstaff in front of the American Consulate. Our flagstaff was chopped down six feet from the ground.¹⁶

But before news of this declaration reached America, President Jefferson, in May, 1801, directed that a squadron of naval vessels, under Commodore Dale, proceed to the Mediterranean, where it was hoped its appearance before Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers and Morocco would have a "tendency to prevent their breaking the peace" which had been made and in existence for several years.¹⁷

Dale took with him "the biennial presents to the

Regency" of Algiers. He carried \$30,000 on his flagship, the President, which it was hoped the Dey of Algiers could be induced to accept for another year.

The George Washington also was preparing to carry over timber and other stores for at least one year's annuity. Ten thousand dollars was also sent out as "a present from the President" to the Bey of Tripoli if that state exhibited peaceful inclinations.¹⁸

Dale's orders of May 20, 1801, contained complete instructions to govern his actions in case all or any of the Barbary States had declared war. They expressly directed him not to suffer his ships "to be entered" or his "men examined or taken out at sea, by any person or power whatsoever." He was informed "that the commander of an American squadron ought to be as much distinguished for his attention and adherence to all the rights of humanity and hospitality as by his firmness in the support of the honor of his own country."

At least one of the treaties with the Barbary States provided that salutes by them to the United States should be paid for with gun powder and accordingly Dale was charged not to solicit a salute as "they will exact a barrel of powder for every gun they fire."¹⁹

On the 1st of April the Lt. Col. Commandant, Burrows, received information from the Secretary of the Navy that Dale's Squadron of four vessels was "under orders to prepare for a cruise of twelve months, with full complements

of men, including Marines." Guards of about fifty Marines each were ordered to join the three frigates and one of about thirty Marines to the schooner Enterprise.

The following Marine officers served in the squadron:-
President, First Lieutenant Newton Keene and Second Lieutenant William S. Osborn; Philadelphia,²⁰ First Lieutenant John R. Fenwick and Second Lieutenant John Johnson;²¹
Essex,²² Second Lieutenants Philip Alexander and Thomas W. Hooper; Enterprise, Second Lieutenant Enoch C. Lane.

This squadron set sail from Hampton Roads about June 1, 1801, arrived in the Mediterranean in June, 1801, but its accomplishments were disappointing.²³

Just about this time the blow of national economy struck the Marine Corps. The President on July 8, 1801 (through the Secretary of the Navy) directed the Commandant to reduce the enlisted strength of the Corps to "four hundred rank and file with a due proportion" of non-commissioned officers and musics for a "Peace Establishment." Some clamor was excited by this radical reduction without the express sanction of Congress, but while the Acts of 1798, 1799 and 1800 authorized 41 officers and 1,044 enlisted Marines, this action of the President was held legal on the construing of certain words in the act of 1798 as conferring on him authority to reduce the Corps whenever Congress decreased the Navy.²⁴

With two hundred Marines in the Mediterranean, the Commandant was in somewhat of a dilemma. He succeeded,

however, in accomplishing the seemingly impossible and the Corps lost none of its popular favor by doing all it could to carry out the Administration's policy of national economy.²⁴

In the meantime a sea fight had taken place in the Mediterranean. On August 1, 1801, the Enterprise captured the Tripolitan polacre Tripoli after a two hour battle.²⁵ Twice the Tripoli struck her colors and as many times treacherously renewed the combat. Finally seeing that destruction was inevitable her commander implored for quarter. Bending in a supplicating posture over the waist of his vessel he threw his colors into the sea with his own hands.²⁷

The work of the Marines in repelling boarders and their effective musketry fire were important factors in the victory. "The Marines, especially, owing to the nearness of the vessels which were within pistol shot of each other were eminently useful."²⁶ There were no American casualties but the Tripolitans suffered severely. There being no authority to retain the Tripoli she was dismantled and sent into Tripoli, where her commander was "mounted on a Jack Ass, and paraded through the streets as an object of public scorn."²⁸ After which he received five hundred bastinadoes."²⁹

The news of this victory was welcomed in America with feelings and expressions of great joy. President Jefferson himself wrote a congratulatory letter to Sterrett.²⁶

Congress presented the Commander of the Enterprise with a sword and each of the other officers (including Lieutenant Lane), Bluejackets and Marines with a month's extra pay.³⁰

On May 31, 1802, the Secretary of the Navy directed the Commandant to pay this money.³¹ Needless to say the Marines were elated with their part in the achievement. Second Lieutenant Presley N. O'Bannon wrote his Commandant that he had "noticed with pleasure the credit which the Marines did themselves under the command of Lieutenant Lane as they have given the Barbarians some hot lead as tribute."

The George Washington arrived in the Mediterranean on September 20, 1801,³² with "presents" for Algiers. The Boston³³ arrived about the same time. What a maddening game the Navy and Marines had to play - fighting the Corsairs with one hand and handing them tribute with the other.

On October 22, 1801, one of the President's boats off Gibraltar upset, and 2 officers and 8 men were lost.³⁴

On January 30, 1802, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith reported that the annual expense of the Marine Corps was \$99,109.23.³⁵

Congress assumed a real aggressive attitude concerning Tripoli in 1802. On February 6th, the President approved an Act of Congress that authorized him to man additional vessels and to protect American interests in the Atlantic Ocean, Mediterranean and adjoining seas. In this Act Congress practically declared that a state of war existed

for authority was granted to "subdue, seize, and make prizes of the vessels of the Bey of Tripoli" and to do anything that "the state of war will justify." This Act increased the period of enlistment of Bluejackets from one to two years. Dale and his successors received orders embodying the essentials of this law.³⁶

Commodore Morris succeeded Dale in 1802.³⁷ His orders dated April 1, 1802,³⁸ directing him to proceed in the Chesapeake informed him that he would find in the Mediterranean the President, Philadelphia, Essex, Boston, Constellation, and Enterprise, while the Adams would arrive later. Between February and September six frigates and the schooner Enterprize arrived in the Mediterranean.

There were two sergeants, two corporals, two musics and forty privates on each of these frigates, while the Enterprise carried about thirty Marines. The Marine Officers on board these vessels were: Chesapeake, Capt. Daniel Carmick and Lieutenant Samuel Baldwin; Constellation, Captain James McKnight and 1st Lieutenant Edward Hall; Adams, Second Lieutenant Presley N. O'Bannon,³⁹ New York, First Lieutenant Samuel Llewellyn - Osborne joined in August; John Adams, Second Lieutenant Jacob Giles Smith; Boston, 1st Lieutenant John Johnson; President, First Lieutenant Newton Keene and Second Lieutenant Wm. S. Osborne; Philadelphia, Second Lieutenant J. R. Fenwick, Essex, Second Lieutenant John Johnson; Enterprise, Lieutenant Samuel Llewellyn⁴⁰ went out in her in January, 1802,

but was soon transferred to the New York.

In April, Morris was directed to "hold out the olive branch in one hand" and display "in the other the means of offensive operations" as this might bring about an advantageous treaty. By this time the Bashaw of Tripoli was "heartily sick of it" all, but he could not bring himself to violate the old custom of "never to make a treaty without a bribe." In August, Morris was authorized to co-operate with any State that was making war on the Barbary States.

Morocco now declared war on the United States and by so doing lost "100 gun carriages" which the General Greene was about to convey to her.⁴¹ Instead of them, President Jefferson sent out two frigates, the New York and the John Adams.

Meanwhile at home the fever of reducing national expenses was still raging and the Marine Corps did not wholly escape. On May 21st, 1802, the President specially commanded that all Marines be dismissed except guards of one sergeant, one corporal and fifteen privates at each of the navy yards of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington and Norfolk; competent guards for the vessels in ordinary and for "each vessel arriving in the country, and the servants necessary for those officers actually on command; also such armourers and such mechanics as are absolutely necessary to the Corps." "Also any private Marine qualified to act as clerk for the use of the staff."

The information of this decrease, somewhat exaggerated, arrived in the Mediterranean and caused worry among the Marines. On November 30th, Captain Carmick on the Chesapeake in a letter informed the Commandant that he "should like to know if the Corps is still existing."

Tripolitan blood was not the only blood spilt in this war. The practice of settling personal affairs of honor by resort to the pistol or sword which had been inherited from Europe, had not been discarded by America up to this time. The custom is a little cousin of war, but more than probable it is the older. It was a game with rules that did not prohibit the professional duellist from killing the inoffensive insulted one any more than the rules of war prevent a similar occurrence among states. It still lingers in Europe but America has cast it aside.

Captain James McKnight, a brother-in-law of Stephen Decatur, and one of the best Marine officers of the times, was killed in a duel at Leghorn by a naval officer on October 14, 1802.⁴² There was a quarrel; McKnight challenged; his opponent proposed pistols at three paces; McKnight's second disagreed and said that the challenged officer was a coward and an assassin for proposing such a short distance; the matter rested for a while and the quarrel was renewed. The seconds arranged for a duel at the distance of six paces with a brace of pistols. Both should advance and should both fail "then to take cutlasses." Captain McKnight "received the ball directly through the center of his heart. He had but time to say he was shot and

expired."

He was buried in the English burial ground at Leghorn where "the famous Smollet"⁴³ rests and a monument provided by his fellow officers was raised over his grave.⁴⁴

About this time First Lieutenant Edward Hall, of the Constellation, also fought a duel in which he received two shots, "the first in the groin and the last in the wrist, which set his pistol off when he was within four paces of his adversary, advancing to blow his brains out."⁴⁵

In 1803, at Malta, Lieutenant William S. Osborn, of the Philadelphia, fought a naval officer. After exchanging four shots the naval officer received a ball in his thigh which caused his death three weeks later.⁴⁶

It is amazing to read that the splendid work of the Marines in this epoch in the Mediterranean, in the West Indies, at home, and other places, was accomplished with but 26 officers and 453 men. In February, 1803, there were; the Commandant in Washington; three staff officers at Headquarters who also performed line duty at the Washington barracks and with the guards of the ships in ordinary; six officers at the various navy yards; nine officers in the Mediterranean; and seven on the other vessels in commission. Of the 483 men, 216 were in the Mediterranean; 80 on the ships in ordinary; 24 at Washington Barracks; and 133 distributed at the six navy yards.⁴⁷

In the Spring of 1803, on April 11th, disaster overtook the New York. As the music was blowing grog-call, a

terrific explosion rocked the ship. The Marine sentry stationed at the magazine passage was blown to bits and about fourteen deaths resulted.⁴⁸

Shortly after the explosion, on May 20th, the New York and Enterprise cut off from its escort a convoy of wheat-laden ships. The escort ran beneath the guns of Tripoli and the convoy, into the harbor of Old Tripoli. A boat party of Marines and Bluejackets went in to burn the vessels and the wheat. Under the smothering fire of the Marines and Bluejackets landed, set fire to the vessels, and returned safely to their boats. The Tripolitans, however, succeeded in extinguishing the fires. On the 28th an attack was made on the war vessels that had escorted the wheat vessels. They had anchored at the entrance of the harbor behind the rocks. The attack failed. Private Derrick C. Winder of the New York died on June 8th from wounds received at this time.⁴⁹

On June 22nd, 1803, the Adams, John Adams, and Enterprise, located the Meshouda and nine gunboats anchored near the beach. After a forty-five minute bombardment the enemy abandoned the Meshouda while the gunboats escaped. Some of the Tripolitans returned to the Meshouda, struck her colors and partially blew her up. She was boarded and officially carried as a prize of the John Adams.⁵⁰

Morris returned home in the Adams in the summer of 1803, being relieved by Captain John Rodgers, until Preble got away.⁵¹ Commodore Preble's squadron arrived in the

Mediterranean in the fall of 1803 when he relieved Rodgers.⁵²
His vessels had the usual Marine guards. The Marine officers
attached to the various vessels under Preble were:
Constitution, Captain John Hall, and Second Lieutenant
Robert Greenleaf;⁵³ Philadelphia, First Lieutenant William
S. Osborn; Enterprise, First Lieutenant William Llewellyn;
Syren, First Lieutenant John Howard. The guards of the
Vixen and Nautilus were commanded by Sergeants.⁵⁴ The
Marine officer of the Argus that arrived later in the year
was First Lieutenant Presley N. O'Bannon.

The Nautilus went out first and was followed by the
Philadelphia. On August 26th, the Philadelphia captured⁵⁵
the Moorish cruiser Murboka in the Mediterranean without
a fight.⁵⁶ An American vessel held as a prize and her crew
were released. A prize crew, including two Marines to
guard prisoners, was placed on board. The Moorish commander
admitted that he carried written orders to capture American
merchant vessels. Later, while the Philadelphia, New York
and John Adams lay off Tangiers, the Emperor of Morocco
was forced to disavow the act of his subordinate in issuing
these orders and he also again ratified the treaty which had
been violated by his naval forces.⁵⁷

American prestige received a heavy blow on October 31,
1803, when the Philadelphia, while on blockading duty, went
on the rocks within range of the Bashaw's guns in Tripoli.⁵⁸
The ship was a complete wreck, was exposed to the fire of
the gunboats and forts which could not be returned. Captain

Bainbridge and his officers, including First Lieutenant Osborn of the Marines, agreed that while a surrender to a barbarous enemy was humiliating, to lie as a target for them to fire at and by a vain parade of unavailing courage wantonly sacrifice the lives of brave men, was cruel, and could not be justified by any principle of war.

And so, all small arms were thrown overboard, the magazines flooded, the ship scuttled, and the colors hauled down. She was boarded, her officers and crew made captives, towed into the harbor and placed, as the Tripolitans supposed, in a position safe from American attack.

The officers and crew were confined ashore. Of the 59 Marines there were First Lieutenant William S. Osborne, Sergeants Otis Hunt and David Irving; Corporals George Fry and Peter Williams; Fifer John Simons; Drummer Abraham Henshaw; and thirty-eight privates who were destined to linger in that deplorable status until June, 1805 - almost two years.

Lieutenant Osborn, as opportunity was afforded, wrote to Colonel Burrows. On June 17, 1804, he forwarded a muster roll and wrote: "The men are all well - at least I have heard so, for I have not seen them but once since our confinement."

Then on December 23rd, the Enterprise captured the ketch Mastico, which as the Intrepid, brought fame to Decatur and his companions.

On January 31, 1804, Commodore Preble ordered Lieutenant Stephen Decatur to take command of the prize ketch Intrepid and with seventy volunteer officers, seamen, and Marines proceed to Tripoli and "board the Philadelphia, burn her and make good" his "retreat with the Intrepid if possible."⁶⁰ Accompanying Decatur in this havidous enterprise were Sergeant Solomon Wren, Corporal Duncan Mansfield, Privates James Noble, John Quin, Isaac Camfield, Rouben O'Brien, William Pepper, and John Woolstanddorf.⁶¹ The officers occupied the very small cabin. Six midshipmen and the pilot had a platform laid on the water casks. "The Marines had corresponding accomodations on the opposite side, and the sailors had only the surface of the casks in the hold."⁶²

The Intrepid was off Tripoli on February 7th, but had weather necessitated a delay. On the 16th, Tripoli was again approached and it was not long before Decatur had succeeded in performing what Nelson pronounced was, "the most daring act of the age."⁶³ At "half past nine laid her alongside the Philadelphia, and after a short contest boarded her,"⁶⁴ wrote Decatur. Sixty officers and men were in the boarding party, the others remaining on board the Intrepid as a guard. The Philadelphia was soon blazing furiously and the Intrepid beyond reach of the Bashaw's guns before the Tripolitans fully realized what had been accomplished.⁶⁵

Decatur accomplished his mission most completely and

with only one man slightly wounded. The brig Siren, whose Marine Guard was commanded by First Lieutenant John Howard, accompanied the Intrepid, but of course did not go into the harbor with the Intrepid.

The Secretary forwarded the President's thanks to Decatur with the President's request that Decatur thank each individual of his "gallant band for their honorable and valorous support rendered the more honorable from its having been volunteered."

Congress authorized the President to present Decatur with a sword "and to each of the officers and crew of the United States ketch Intrepid two month's pay."⁶⁶

In June, 1804, Preble authorized Bainbridge to again offer the Bashaw a ransom of \$50,000. and \$10,000. for a "consular pursuit."

Commodore Preble's squadron, consisting of the Constitution, Captain John Hall; Siren, Sergeant Meredith in charge of Marine Guard; Argus, Scourge, Vixen, Nautilus,⁶⁷ Enterprise,⁶⁸ and some gun boats, bombarded Tripoli on August 3, 1804, while the gunboats engaged the enemy's vessels.

The Marines of the squadron were placed on board the gunboats and performed their duty magnificently. Sergeant Jonathan Meredith served on the gunboat commanded by Lieutenant John Trippe. Lieutenant Trippe and nine men boarded a Tripolitan vessel and before the rest of the crew could follow, the wash of the ship separated the two vessels

and Trippe and his men found themselves face to face with five times their number. Instant offense was their only safety. Without a moment's hesitation the Americans dashed at their antagonists and a conflict of the fiercest description ensued. Trippe singled out the Tripolitan commander and engaged him in a hand-to-hand fight.⁶⁹ As Trippe was finishing off his burly foe, Sergeant Meredith, by a vicious bayonet thrust pinned to the mast another corsair, who was about to finish Trippe. Mac⁷⁰lay writes that during this struggle "a Turk aimed a blow at Sailing Master Trippe from behind, but before it fell Sergeant Meredith of the Marines, pinned the Turk to the deck with a bayonet." Lieutenant Trippe's "boatswain's mate and two Marines were also wounded."⁷¹ Three days after this, on August 7, 1804,⁷² Sergeant Meredith was blown up in Gunboat No. 9.⁷² In 1918 a destroyer of the Navy was named in honor of Sergeant Meredith.

While the act of saving the life of Stephen Decatur during this battle has been frequently accorded to Reuben James, a seaman, or Daniel Frazier, a seaman,⁷³ there are many who have credited a Marine with saving the life that Barron later took in a duel. Decatur had boarded an enemy craft to avenge the treacherous killing, by the Tripolitan commander, of his brother James. While Decatur was engaged with this Tripolitan, another enemy raised his sword to cleave the skull of Decatur. A Marine, or Blue-jacket, interposed his head or his arm and received the

blow intended for his Captain. The story of Reuben James appeared first in anecdotal form and has received so much credence that a destroyer of the Navy was named in his memory. However, one very trustworthy naval historian⁷⁴ wrote that "the surgeon's report would seem to settle it," as "Reuben James does not appear in the list of wounded" although "a Thomas James received a 'superficial puncture in the face.'"⁷⁵

Five Marines were wounded in this engagement. Sergeant Solomon Wren of the Enterprise on Gunboat No. 4, flag gunboat of Captain Stephen Decatur; Privates Michael Connor and J. Ryan of the Vixen on Gunboat No. 6 (commanded by Lieutenant Trippe); Charles Young of the Constitution on board ship;⁷⁶ and Samuel Rodney of the Nautilus on Gunboat No. 1. Of Young's wound Preble reported that a 32-pound shot struck a gun and the fragments "shattered a Marine's arm."⁷⁷

Preble did not forget the services of the Marines when he made his reports. He wrote that "the conduct of the officers, seamen and Marines of the Squadron, have, not only in this action on the 3d instant, but on every other occasion, merited the highest encomiums." Again he reported that the "officers, seamen and Marines of the squadron behaved in the most gallant manner,"⁷⁸ and that he "was much gratified with the conduct of Captain John Hall and Second Lieutenant Robert Greenleaf, and the Marines be-

longing to his company, in the management of six long 26-pounders, on the spardeck, which I placed under his direction."⁷⁹

Mr. Swan, acted as a Marine Officer and "behaved in a very gallant manner, as a volunteer in one of the gunboats." Commodores Barron and Preble spoke "in very handsome language of this gentleman" and Lieutenant Colonel Wharton inquired anxiously of Captain Hall as to his identity. "Sergeant Mix, with four brave companions," wrote Colonel Wharton, "formed the major part of a boat which with two officers and eleven men attacked and carried an enemy superior by three times the number."⁸⁰

By order of Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, Privates Michael Connor and Charles Young were promoted to sergeants for having "distinguished themselves by acts of valor against the enemy off Tripoli and having sustained severe wounds."⁸¹

Congress thanked the "officers, seamen and Marines" of the Squadron, presented a medal to Preble, swords to the officers (including Captain John Hall and Lieutenants Robert Greenleaf and John Johnson), and one month's pay to the seamen and Marines who "so gloriously supported the honor of the American flag."⁸²

Tripoli was bombarded again on August 7th and one American gunboat was blown up by a shot from the Tripolitans. Ten of the twenty-eight officers, seamen and Marines were killed, and six wounded. Of this number killed were

Sergeant Jonathan Meredith and Private Nathaniel Holmes. ⁸³

During this period frequent offers of ransom for the American captives were made. On August 9th, Preble's offer of \$500. per head was rejected by the Bashaw. On the 11th, Preble sent word to the Bashaw that if the arrival of the whole American force in the Mediterranean did not find peace with Tripoli, the United States would assist in the restoration of Hamet, the Bashaw's brother. On this date, \$100,000. was offered as ransom for the Americans captured on the Philadelphia and an additional \$10,000. to be distributed among the Prime Ministers and others who might influence the Bashaw. It was refused.

The battle was renewed on the 28th and again on September 3rd when the Intrepid with Somers, Wadsworth and Israel, was blown up by them.

Early in the Spring of 1804, there came additional and sudden calls for Marines.

The demands of the Bashaw of Tripoli became so extravagantly unreasonable that it was decided to answer them in the Spring of 1804, with more vessels under Commodore Barron. This meant more Marines. This drain on the resources of the Corps was added to by the necessity of sending about one hundred Marines and three officers to New Orleans.

Commandant Wharton was hard-put to gather together the Marines for the vessels of Barron's squadron. The organization of the President's guard is illustrative.

When Headquarters was moved to Washington in 1800, Franklin Wharton remained at Philadelphia and continued his command there until 1804, when he was appointed Commandant and relieved by Anthony Gale. Gale was relieved by First Lieutenant Edward Hall on May 12, 1804, and ordered to repair to Washington and to "bring on your music, waiter and all the privates" except McElroy. Lieutenant Hall was ordered to recruit his guard around McElroy and Sergeant Bensell who had been ordered to Philadelphia.

Gale left Philadelphia on May 20th, stopped at Baltimore to "add Lieutenant Amory's men" to his command and arrived at Washington about the 25th. He, with Lieutenant O'Bannon and 52 enlisted men went on board on the 26th. At Gosport (Norfolk) six privates were added to the Guard.

By the Act of March 27, 1804, Congress amended the Act of March 3, 1801, by providing that there should be placed on board the frigates in ordinary such "Marines as in the opinion of the President shall be deemed necessary;" but that the number of Marines should not be greater than that authorized by the latter Act.

Commodore Barron received his orders to proceed to the Mediterranean on June 6, 1804. The John Adams sailed on June 26th and the other four ships on July 5th.⁸⁴ There were about fifty Marines on each of Barron's frigates with about thirty on the smaller vessels. The Marine officers serving in his squadron in the Mediterranean were:⁸⁵ President, Captain Anthony Gale and Second Lieutenant Presley

N. O'Bannon; Congress, First Lieutenant Thomas W. Hooper; Constitution, Captain John Hall and First Lieutenant Robert Greenleaf; Essex, First Lieutenant William Amory; Constellation, First Lieutenant Henry Caldwell; Siren, First Lieutenant John Howard; Argus, First Lieutenant John Johnson; Enterprise, First Lieutenant Samuel Llewellyn; while the Marines of the Vixen and Nautilus were commanded by Sergeants.

The Secretary of the Navy informed Barron that "with this force it is conceived that no doubt whatever can exist of your coercing Tripoli to a treaty upon our own terms." He was directed to maintain an effectual blockade of Tripoli, something that had not been accomplished since Dale appeared before Tripoli in 1802. Moreover, Barron was authorized to use the cooperation of ex-Bashaw Hamet in gaining the desired end.

Barron arrived off Tripoli on September 10th, and later relieved Preble who sailed for home on the John Adams.

The long-expected squadron under Barron joined the one before Tripoli on September 9, 1804. Here ended the command of Commodore Preble, so honorable to himself, and to his country. All joined in praising his distinguished merit. The Pope made a public declaration that "the United States, though in their infancy, had, in this affair, done more to humble the antichristian barbarians on the coast, than all the European States had done for a long series of time." Sir Alexander Ball, a distinguished

commander in the British Navy told Preble that he had
"done well not to purchase peace with the enemy."⁸⁶

No real results were obtained by Barron and his health failing, he was temporarily relieved in May, 1805, by Rodgers. At this time Rodgers had under his command the frigates Constitution, President, Constellation, Congress, Essex, John Adams, the brigs Siren, Argus, Vixen, Schooners Nautilus, Enterprise, sloop Hornet, bomb Spitfire, Vengeance, eight gunboats and two or three inferior vessels. All of these vessels carried Marines.

In addition to the gunboats secured from Naples, President Jefferson despatched several from the United States. Each of these that crossed the stormy Atlantic carried about five Marines.⁸⁷

Probably no war in which the United States has been engaged illustrates so well, as does the Tripolitan War of 1801-1805, the desirability of having an "expeditionary force" of Marines immediately available with the fleet. Dale's squadron went out and ineffectually thundered at the Bashaw's forts. Then Morris, and next Rodgers, but still the Bashaw was imperturbably adamant to either bombardments or offers of ransom. Finally the Philadelphia was captured; then eventually burned by Decatur, assisted by eight Marines; but the Bashaw refused all offers of ransom on her officers, Marines and Bluejackets. Next Barron tried his hand and again the Bashaw was unmoved. All the naval vessels and all the Navy's guns and all the

strategy failed to crack the Tripolitan "nut" until an "expeditionary force" partially composed of Marines forced the Bashaw to consider⁸⁸ terms and caused him to sign a treaty foregoing "tribute" and releasing the officers and crew of the Philadelphia and other prisoners. If there had been an organized "expeditionary force" of five hundred Marines serving with the Squadron, events might have been expedited.

William Eaton was "Navy Agent for the several Barbary Regencies."⁸⁹ Hamet Caramelli had been Bashaw of Tripoli until driven into exile by a rebellion which had placed his brother Jusuf on the throne. Eaton conceived the plan of restoring Hamet by making a combined land and water attack on Tripoli.⁹⁰ He believed that a favorable treaty⁹¹ would follow the successful carrying out of his plan.⁹¹ First Lieutenant Presley Neville O'Bannon commanded the Marines of the Argus on which Eaton arrived at Alexandria, Egypt, in 1804. On the 29th of November, Eaton, Lieutenant O'Bannon, Midshipman George Mann and some others left for Cairo, where they arrived on the 8th of January after passing through areas infested with wild Arabs. Here it was learned that Hamet with a few Tripolitans had joined the Mamelukes at Miniet where he was besieged. The people of Cairo were totally unaware of the coup that was to be attempted by this small group of Americans. Eaton, O'Bannon and the others "passed as American officers of the Army and Navy whom curiosity had brought from Malta to

Egypt." Eaton and his party, with the help of the Viceroy got as far as Fium where they were stopped by the Turks. However, negotiations were had with Hamet and arrangements made for him to join Eaton.⁹²

Eaton requested of Commodore Barron in February "a detachment of one hundred Marines" for the purpose of leading a "coup de main," but Barron replied that such a step exceeded his powers. Therefore Eaton had to be content with Lieutenant O'Bannon, one sergeant and six privates of Marines instead of the hundred.

Eaton entered into a convention in the name of the United States with Hamet on February 23, his signature being witnessed by Lieutenant O'Bannon and others.⁹³

Eaton thus made definite arrangements with Hamet and agreed on a plan of joint operations with Barron. He gathered together an expedition of about five hundred, one hundred of whom were Christians. There were only ten Americans including Eaton and O'Bannon,⁹⁴ Mr. Peck, a non-commissioned Marine officer and six Marine privates, one company of 27 cannoniers, one company of 40 Greeks and others to make up the five hundred.⁹⁵ Transportation consisted of 107 camels and a few asses. The expedition mobilized at Arab's Tower, about 40 miles west of Alexandria. Hamet almost backed out of the adventure when his servants were arrested and an advance made on his camp by the Turks as he was about to leave Alexandria. His followers would have fled to the desert, wrote Eaton, if it had not been

for the "firm and decided conduct of Mr. O'Bannon."⁹⁶

The route of the expedition lay along the edge of the⁹⁷ Libyan desert, a wild and desolate region, where heat and thirst were not the only enemies. Eaton wrote to Isaac Hull that "Mr. O'Bannon will enterprize with me the tour of the desert," and stated that they would encounter "three dangers; a danger of robbery, and assassination by the wild Arabs; and a danger of being executed as spies by the Mameluke Beys."⁹⁸

On March 8th this strange expedition started the long march of about six hundred miles to Derne. Continual alterations, contentions, and delays were experienced. Mutinies occurred among the camel drivers and footmen. Gathering recruits as they marched, Eaton on April 2nd had under his command about 700 fighting men, exclusive of about 500 camp followers and Bedouin families.

Eaton and O'Bannon were kept constantly on the alert to subdue mutinies and prevent disaffection. On April 8th a most serious condition arose but "the firm and decided conduct of Mr. O'Bannon as on all other occasions," reported Eaton, "did much to deter the violence of the savages, by whom" they were surrounded. "After the affair was over the Bashaw embraced" O'Bannon "With an enthusiasm of respect, calling him the brave American."⁹⁹

On another occasion only reassuring news from Bomba, a town ahead, prevented an outbreak among the cannoniers and in this "disagreeable situation of affairs,"¹⁰⁰ Eaton again

showed his confidence in O'Bannon by making him his only confidant. Rations ran short.¹⁰⁰ Camels were killed for food. Wild fennel and sorrel were eaten.¹⁰⁰

Bomba was reached the 15th, and the force was about to dissipate in disorder when the Argus appeared with supplies. The Hornet arrived on the 22nd. The march toward Derne was resumed on the 25th and the expedition arrived in front of Derne the same date. The city looked so formidable that Hamet, in the words of Eaton, "wished himself back in Egypt."¹⁰⁰

Eaton offered terms of amity to the Governor of Derne on condition of allegiance and fidelity to Hamet. "The flag of truce was sent back to me with the laconic answer," wrote Eaton, "My head or yours."¹⁰¹⁻¹⁰²

The Nautilus, hove in sight on this date while the Argus and the Hornet, dropped anchor early the next day.¹⁰³ Eaton immediately sent the Hornet off with despatches.¹⁰³

The attack was commenced on Derne under the bombarding guns of the vessels. Lieutenant "O'Bannon and myself united in a resolution to perish with" Caramalli "before the walls of Tripoli or to triumph with him within those walls."¹⁰⁴

"A detachment of six American Marines, a company of 24 cannoniers, and another of 26 Greeks, including their proper officers, all under the immediate command of Lieutenant O'Bannon, together with a few Arabs on foot, had a position on an eminence opposite to a considerable party of the enemy, who had taken post behind temporary parapets

and in a ravine at the southeast quarter of the town. The Bashaw Hamet seized an old castle which overlooked the town on the ^{south-} southwest, deploying his cavalry upon the plains in rear." A little before two o'clock in the afternoon the battle was raging furiously at that part of the lines where the Americans were placed. The enemy threw heavy reinforcements against them and some confusion resulted. Eaton "perceived a charge" the "dernier and only resort," for his cause. The Americans and others "rushed forward against a host of savages more than ten to one," and dispersed them. Eaton was wounded. Then, as described by Eaton, "Mr. O'Bannon, accompanied by Mr. Mann of Annapolis, surged forward with his Marines, Greeks, and such of the cannoniers as were not necessary to the management of the field piece; passed through a shower of musketry from the walls of the houses; took possession of one of the batteries; planted the American flag upon its ramparts, and turned its guns upon the enemy."¹⁰⁵⁻¹⁰⁶ The fire of the vessels which had been suspended during the charge now opened up and with the assistance of Hamet's cavalry, Eaton soon controlled the town.¹⁰⁵⁻¹⁰⁶ In two hours the place was occupied and for the first time in its history the flag of the United States flew over a fortress of the Old World.¹⁰⁷ The flag was the fifteen-star and fifteen-stripe flag.

The action lasted two and a half hours. Eaton established his headquarters in the captured battery.

Of the Christians, fourteen were killed or wounded,

three of whom were "Marines, one dead and one dying." The name of the Marine killed was Private John Whitten,¹⁰⁸ while the wounded Private Edward Steward,¹⁰⁸ died at Derne on May 30th. Two Marines, Privates David Thomas and Bernard O'Brien, were wounded.¹⁰⁹

Eaton warmly commended O'Bannon's gallantry. He reported that: "The detail I have given of Mr. O'Bannon's conduct need no encomium and it is believed the disposition our government have always discovered to encourage will be extended to this intrepid, judicious, and enterprising officer."¹¹⁰ The courageous actions of a young English gentleman named Farquhar, who voluntarily accompanied the expedition, caused Eaton to request Commodore Barron to "ensure him a lieutenancy in the Marine Corps."¹¹¹

Tobias Lear asked Eaton to "present to Mr. O'Bannon and our brave countrymen with you, my sincere congratulations on an event which you and their heroic bravery has tended to render so honorable to our country."

The Tripolitans attacked Derne several times but were repulsed each time. In an attack on May 28th all the Americans participated and caused consternation and precipitate retreat of the enemy with a rushing bayonet charge.¹¹²

The memory of the Americans still lives, in the songs of the women of Derna:- "Din din Mohammed U Ryas Melekan mahandi" meaning - "Mohammed for religion and the Americans for stubbornness."¹¹³

Humiliated by the successes of the American naval vessels before Tripoli and alarmed by the occupation of Derne, Bashaw Yusuf opened negotiations with Tobias Lear, the American Consul-General of Algiers, who had proceeded to Tripoli for that purpose.¹¹⁴

The Treaty was signed on June 4, 1805. The United States paid \$60,000 ransom for the Americans held captive by the Bashaw since the Philadelphia was captured on October 31, 1803. Periodical tribute was not referred to in the Treaty.¹¹⁵ The Marines were released with the others. Some of them were distributed among the vessels for duty. Lieutenant Osborne and the remainder arrived in the United States on board the President in September, 1805.¹¹⁷

On September 10, 1805, Captain John Hall reported his arrival on the President with 1st Lieutenants John Howard and William S. Osborn, at Hampton Roads and said: "Commodore Rodgers and Colo. Lear concluded a Peace with the Bashaw of Tripoli on the 3 June last, paying him a ransom for the prisoners of \$60,000. God knows what they will say to it at the city."¹¹⁶

The Americans withdrew from Derne on June 12th. The Constellation arrived at Derne, with orders for Eaton to evacuate on the 11th.¹¹⁸ In order to avoid unnecessary inconvenience it was decided to withdraw the forces secretly. Eaton therefore ordered the usual routine to be carried out. At 8:00 p.m., he "placed patrols of Marines to stop intercourse between the town and" the "post, as usual." Then

the cannoniers embarked; and next the Greek company. "The Marines remained at their posts." Hamet and his retinue went aboard. "The Marines followed the American officers" with Eaton the last to abandon Derne. All were on board the Constellation by 2:00 a.m., June 12th. Words cannot describe the chaotic conditions that were produced in the town by this sudden and secret evacuation.¹¹⁹ The United States Government carefully provided for the future of Hamet but his countrymen and others who had helped him and the United States, either fled to the desert or perished.¹²⁰

During this Tripolitan War there were five Marines killed or died of wounds and nine wounded. The dead were: Sergeant Jonathan Meredith, Privates William Williams, Nathaniel Holmes, John Wilton and Edward Steward. The wounded were: Sergeant Solomon Wren, Privates William Cooper, Thomas Riveness, Samuel Henry, Michael Connor, Charles Young, J. Ryan, Samuel Rodney, and an unknown private at Derne.¹²¹ A monument was erected near the western entrance to the Capitol by the officers of the Navy to the memory of their brother officers, who fell in the War with Tripoli. It stood originally at the Navy Yard, Washington, but was later moved to the Capital Grounds and from there to the Naval Academy.¹²²

Before parting with O'Bannon, Hamet presented his "brave American" friend with a jewelled sword with a Mameluke hilt which he himself had carried while with the Mamelukes in Egypt. Upon O'Bannon's return to the United

States the state of Virginia presented him a sword modeled after Hamet's present.¹²³ And so Hamet through O'Bannon gave the Marine Corps the sword carried by the officers today.¹²⁴

The flag which O'Bannon hoisted over Derne, the first was brought to America and exhibited as late as 1820 in Brimfield, Mass., but has since disappeared.

A destroyer of the Navy was named in honor of O'Bannon in 1918.¹²⁵

A monument was unveiled on June 14, 1820 in the State Cometary at Frankfort, Ky., to the memory of Lieutenant O'Bannon. His remains had been brought there and re-interred in the fall of 1919 by the Susannah Hart Shelby Chapter, N. S., D. A. R., from Henry County.¹²⁶

This War with the Barbary Powers settled matters for a few years but it was not settled right and therefore the tribute-treaty of 1795 with Algiers brought about a small war in 1815, which smashed tribute-giving, as far as the United States was concerned, forever.

Although Tripoli had made peace, serenity was not complete in the Mediterranean. Naval vessels returned and naval vessels went out. The John Adams with some gunboats sailed in April.

The American squadron under Rodgers rendezvoused at Syracuse in the summer of 1805. Friction with Tunis over some vessels captured by the Americans threatened war and by August 1, 1805 there were anchored in Tunis Bay the

Constellation, Constitution, Essex, John Adams, Congress, Siren, Nautilus, Enterprize, Vixen, Hornet and several gunboats. This force overawed the Bey and he decided to send a Minister to the United States. That gentleman embarked on board the Congress in September, 1805 and sailed for the United States. Commodore Rodgers was well pleased with the peaceful ending to these affairs and on August 21, 1805 wrote to Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith that "peace on honorable terms is always preferable to war."¹²⁷

The squadron was gradually reduced as the vessels composing it returned to the United States. The President, with most of the officers recently released from captivity in Tripoli had already sailed from Malta homeward-bound on July 13, 1805.¹²⁸

About this time the President, in the Straits of Gibraltar, was fired upon by Spanish gunboats which fire was returned only by the President hoisting a Spanish flag under the Stars and Stripes on board.¹²⁹

Captain Anthony Gale, who was commanding the Marines on the Constitution, at Syracuse, Sicily, on January 20, 1806, reported to the Commandant by letter on that date that he had "obtained permission from the Governor of this place to land the Marines for exercise. I take them out three times each week. They have improved in military discipline beyond my most sanguine expectations and while the Squadron remains together I will continue my exertions, and exert my best ability to improve them in their duty. My

largest muster amounted to ninety - they made a very handsome appearance - and went through several maneuvers very much to my satisfaction."¹³⁰

Commodore Rodgers sailed for home in the Essex in the summer of 1806 leaving the Constitution and the squadron under command of Captain Campbell. In a short while there were left in the Mediterranean only the Constitution, Hornet and Enterprize.

While beating to the Eastward through the Straits of Gibraltar on August 15, 1806, the Enterprize was attacked by a number of Spanish gunboats. Captain David Porter hoisted the American colors and hailed the Spaniards without reply. They kept up a running fire for some time but were finally driven off by the fire of the Enterprize.¹³¹

In the summer of 1807, an incipient mutiny took place on the Constitution on account of the period of enlistment of most of her crew having expired. It was quickly quelled and she soon sailed for home, arriving in Boston in October, 1807.¹³²

Relations between the United States and England became more strained and the Navy was kept at home as much as possible. However, vessels visiting Europe looked into the Mediterranean, from time to time, as did the Argus and Enterprize in 1809.

NOTES.
CHAPTER XV.

1. See Chapter IX; Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, describes this War in detail setting forth a voluminous number of excellent sources.
2. In this letter dated August 5, 1796, he wrote that the "Dey's Lord of the Bed Chamber" had been on board his ship and Nelson asked him why he would not make peace with the Genoese and the Neapolitans, "for they would pay the Dey." The Bed Chamber Lord's reply was - "If we make peace with everyone, what is the Dey to do with his ships?" (Browne, Life of Nelson, 127); Again at a later date the Dey said: "If I were to make peace with everybody, what would I do with my Corsairs? What should I do with my soldiers? They would take off my head for want of other prizes." (Hollis, Frigate Constitution, 30).
3. Marine Corps Gazette, December, 1922, 355.
4. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 74-75; According to O'Brien's letter to Eaton (Prentiss, Eaton, 189) the George Washington carried on this voyage the Ambassador and suite, 100 in number; a hundred negro women and children; four horses, 150 sheep, 25 horned cattle, four lions, four tigers, four antelopes, twelve parrots, and funds and regalia amounting to nearly \$1,000,000.00. (Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 78).
5. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 78; Harris, Life of Bainbridge, 45-61.
6. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 79, 84; See also The Museum & Wash. & Georgetown Advertiser, March 11, 1801; "I hope I may never again be sent to Algiers with tribute, unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouth of our cannon," reported Captain Bainbridge. (Harris, Life of Bainbridge, 45-61); Minnigerode, Lives and Times, 60-63.
7. See Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs.
8. See Miscellaneous Works of David Humphries, 69; for views of Jefferson's Cabinet, See Ford, Jefferson's Writings, I, 293, 297.

9. Blyth, Hist., War Bet., U.S., and Tripoli, 93-94.
10. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922, 273-274; See also Hildreth, Hist. of the U.S., V, 433.
11. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922.
12. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922.
13. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922.
14. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1922.
15. Knapp, "Naval Officer in Diplomacy," in Nav. Inst. Proc., September, 1924, 1474-1475; Allen, Our Navy & The Barbary Corsairs, 91; Harper, Encyc. of U.S., Hist., IX, 124-126; Nav. Inst. Proc., V, 51 (good map) and VI, 134; Minnigerode, Lives and Times; Porter's Memoirs, 43-68; Hist. Session Congress commencing December 7, 1801 published in Nat. Intell.
16. Nat. Intell., January 6, 1802.
17. See Winsor, Narr. & Crit. Hist. of Amer., VII, 370; Commodore Charles Stewart on March 23, 1842, wrote Secretary of the Navy A. P. Upshur that "in the War with Tripoli an inadequate naval force was sent to chastize" Tripoli, and that Sweden's force and that of the United States, united "could have obtained results desired." (A.&N. Chron., III, 418-431).
18. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 325, Dearborn to Ludlow, May 4, 1801, and 326, Dearborn letter dated May 4, 1801; Marine Corps Archives, Burrows, May 13, 1801, wrote Lieut. Keene: "The George Washington is ordered to be got ready to carry presents to Algiers"; See: Smith to Dale, May 20, 1801, Sec. Navy Let. Bk., May 15, 1799-July 18, 1807, 55-62; See Dearborn on July 6, 1801, ordered the "detachment of Marines to consist of ten privates with a proper proportion of non-commissioned officers" to George Washington. (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 442).
19. Orders of Sec. Navy R. Smith to Dale, May 20, 1801, in Sec. Navy Let. Bk., May 15, 1799-July 18, 1807.
20. Letter May 1, 1801, Burrows to Lieut. Enoch S. Lane states: "Capt. McKnight commands the Marines on board the Philadelphia and goes out with the Squadron"; Let. Burrows to Keene, May 13, 1801; On August 5, 1801, Lieut. Fenwick at sea wrote Burrows "the detachment still remains as I received it, consisting of 37 privates and six N.C. officers. This is not sufficient

20. (Continued)

for the duty of the ship. I should have made up the complement as Captain McKnight intended."

21. The officers shifted from ship to ship; Letter of Johnson on Enterprise, at Gibraltar on July 18, 1801, to Burrows, shows him on that vessel. (Rec. Bulletin, II, 8).

22. The Journal of the U.S.S. Essex, May 29 to August 9, 1801, gives the Quarter Bill and Watch Bill of that frigate. The Quarter Bill shows Lieut. Philip Alexander and 25 Marines, including Sergeants James P. Mix and Levi Pritchett on the Quarter Deck and Lieut. Thomas W. Hooper and 23 Marines, including Sergeants Joseph Nasworthy and Charles Miller, in the Waist. Four or five other Marines were detailed as orderlies; See also Let. Burrows to Capt. Wm. Bainbridge, April 25, 1801, in M. C. Archives.

23. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 92, 94; Harris, Life and Services of Commodore Bainbridge, 63-72; Lieut. Newton Keene wrote Burrows on July 9, 1801, that they had "arrived at Gibraltar on the 13th of June last after a passage of thirty days from the Capes of Virginia"; In this letter Keene wrote that "My Marines look well. I have issued to each man new clothing which I do not suffer them to wear, except upon particular occasions. * * * Lieut. Sterret speaks highly in favor of Lieut. Lane, as well as Captain Samuel Barron. * * * I have delivered to Lieut. Fenwick what coats and vests I could spare and had requested of Lieut. Alexander to inform me what quantity of clothing he had on board the Essex for the use of his detachment. * * * Your son, when I saw him a few days past, was very well."

24. Nat. Intell.; Wash., D.C., August 3, 1801; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 449, Dearborn to Burrows.

25. Lets. August 10 and September 28, 1801, Keene to Burrows; Maclay, Hist. Navy, 231-232; Amer. St. Pap., (Nav. Aff.), I, 82; Nat. Intell., November 16, 1801; Allen, Hist. War Bet. U.S., & Tripoli, 91; Paullin, Diplomatic Negotiations of Amer. Nav. Officers, 62, mentions "capture of the Tripolitan polacre Paulina by the U.S.S. Enterprise in March, 1802, "but this was not the Tripoli; President Jefferson's Message to Congress, December 8, 1801; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., I, 318; Smith to Burrows, May 31, 1802; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., V, 167-168; Navy Let. of Congress, I, 84; Navy Dept. Let. to Congress, I, 105.

26. Nat. Intell., Wash., D.C., November 18 and December 16, 1801.
27. Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., (1813), 103; Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., I, 146.
28. Nav. Hosp. Bulletin, XVII, 67; Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., (1814), I, 147.
29. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 96.
30. Amer. St. Pap., (Nav. Aff.), I, 82; See also Marshall, Hist. Nav. Acad., 146-155.
31. Gen. Let. Bk., V, Navy Department, 318.
32. See Marine Corps Archives, Keene to Burrows.
33. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs.
34. Dale to Sec. Navy, October 26, 1801; Nat. Intell., January 29, 1802; Allen, Our Navy & the Barbary Corsairs, 99.
35. Nat. Intell., March 15, 1802.
36. Sec. Navy Let. Bk., I, 30, Circular Letter to Dale or Commanding Officer on Mediterranean Station, February 18, 1802; See also Misc. Rodgers Papers, Navy Library, Smith to Harris, March 20, 1802.
37. Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., I, 148; Paullin, Dip. Negotiations of Amer. Nav. Officers, 62; Harris, Life of Bainbridge, 72.
38. Sec. Navy Let. Bk., I, 33; Idem, 6; Idem, VI, 274.
39. On December 16, 1802, Hugh G. Campbell, commanding the Adams wrote Burrows, "O'Bannon is one of the happiest fellows living. He has just returned from spending the evening with a brilliant circle of Spanish ladies, and by way of consolation for the loss of their company, philosophy and the fiddle is called to his aid. On the latter he is now playing 'Hogs in the Cornfield.'"
40. Waldo, Biog. Sketches of Disting. Naval Heroes, 240-241.
41. Gen. Let. Bk., V, Navy Dept., 391; Sec. Navy Smith to Morris, August 27, 1802, Sec. Navy Let. Bk., I, 47; Smith to Tingey, October 12, 1803, Navy Let. Bk., Barbary Powers, 22; Blyth, Hist., War Bet. U.S., and

41. (Continued)

Tripoli, 96; On July 20, 1802 Sec. Navy Robert Smith wrote Tingey that he had a "command from the President" to "have prepared to be shipped to the Emperor of Morocco 100 gun carriages," and directed him to look over what he had from the frigates.

42. Murray's Let. Bk., Navy Dept., March 12, 1802; Carmick to Burrows, October 15, 1802; Murray's Let. Bk., Murray to Hall, October 16, 1802; See Sparks, Amer. Biog., 2nd Ser., I, 9-10, 326, relations of Stephen Decatur and McKnight.

43. Nat. Intell., January 21, 1803; Smollet was the British novelist who died at Leghorn in September, 1771.

44. Stephen Decatur, the elder, married Miss Pine. The fruits of this marriage were one daughter (married to Captain McKnight and subsequently to Dr. Hurst of Philadelphia) and 3 sons, Stephen, James and John P. (Sparks, Amer. Biog., 2nd Ser., II, 9-10). The two daughters of Capt. McKnight were living with Stephen Decatur when he was killed by Barron. (Sparks, Amer. Biog., 2nd Ser., II, 326).

45. Carmick to Burrows, October 15, 1802.

46. See Let. Smith to Johns, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VI, 218, referring to affair between "Lieut. Van Dyke and Osborn."

47. Amer. St. Pap., I, 110; "On Friday [Feb. 25, 1803] the bill for the reduction of the Marine Corps was taken up in committee and agreed to - and a resolution passed, after a long debate, directing the printing of documents containing a statement of the expenditures of the Quarter Master General for several past years; and the contingencies of the War and Navy Departments for the same period." "On Saturday [Febr. 26, 1803] the House passed to a third reading the bill for the reduction of the Marine Corps." (Nat. Intell., February 28, 1803).

48. See Letter Smith to Burrows, January 9, 1804, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 30, relieving Lieut. Llewellyn of responsibility for loss of Marine clothing sustained in this explosion.

49. Muster Rolls; Size Roll spells his name "Winder, Christian D." See also Porter's Memoirs, 51-52.

50. Amer. St. Pap., (Nav. Aff.), I, 115; what ship did the John Adams destroy in the vicinity of Tripoli harbor? Rodgers says her hull was burst asunder, and yet he shortly appeared at Gibraltar with the Mesboula in tow; Allen, Our Navy & The Barbary Corsairs, says; "with this vessel and the Mesboula out of the way"; Paullin, Dip. Negotiations Amer. Nav. Officers, 207; Goldsborough, Naval Chronicle, 70; Neeser, 370; Foreign Relations, I, 115; Hill, Twenty Historic Ships. 107-108; no two agree with Allen seems to be the only one that alludes to the discrepancy.
51. Sec. Navy Let. Bk., I, 69, 70; See Misc. Rodgers Papers, Navy Dept., April 1, 1802; Paullin, Dip. Negotiations of Amer. Nav. Officers, 68.
52. Paullin, Dip. Negotiations of Amer. Nav. Officers, 69; Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., I, 148; Frost, Book of the Navy, 94-100; On October 16, 1803 "Nelson and Bronte" wrote British Secretary of State for War Department that he had not thought "it proper to notice the indirect application for gun powder and grape-shot" of Bashaw of Tripoli, "on account of his War with the Americans, without the approbation of Government. * * * it might give cause for a discontent on the part of the Americans, which it must be our wish to avoid." (Nicolas, Despatches & Letters of Nelson, V, 248).
53. There is nothing new under the sun for on May 3, 1802, in volunteering for duty on Constitution, Essex or Philadelphia, Lieut. Robert Greenleaf wrote the commandant that he conceived "it much less expensive while at sea than being stationed at Headquarters, where my expenses have been very great hitherto." (Let. No. 14, M.C. Archives).
54. Preble Papers, Ms. Div., Library of Congress.
55. Amer. St. Pap., (Nav. Aff.), I, 115; Clark, Naval Hist. U.S. (1813), 104; Harris, Life & Services of Com. Bainbridge, 72-77.
56. Naval Temple, 20.
57. Frost, Pictorial Hist. Amer. Navy, 143-145; Frost, Book of the Navy, 94-100; Log Book of Constitution in Ms. Div., Lib. of Cong., shows that on October 3, 1803, twelve Moorish prisoners who had been taken by Philadelphia were received on board as gentlemen and for some time messed at Commodore's table. Later messed in Half Deck; but on October 3d, were under

57. (Continued)

charge of the Marine Officer with two sentinels over them; At the conclusion of these troubles the Meshouda and Murboka were restored, while the officers and crews of the Philadelphia and John Adams received the equivalent of prize money through the generosity of Congress.

58. Harris, Life of Bainbridge, 80-82; Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., I, 151; Salem (Mass.) Gazette, quoted in Military & Naval Mag., II, 158; Hollis, Frigate Constitution, 88-89; Blyth, Hist., War Bet., U.S., and Tripoli, 106; Furlong, Gateway to the Sahara, Ch. VI; Maclay, Hist. of Navy, I, 249, gives list of officers; The officers, including Lieut. Wm. Osborn and Midshipmen, signed letter absolving Bainbridge. (Harris, Life & Services of Comm. Bainbridge, 83; Amer. St. Papers, I, 123).

59. Cooper, Lives of Dist. Amer. Nava. Officers, I, 38.

60. Documents Relating to Destruction of Philadelphia, (John T. Towers), 12.

61. Amer. St. Pap., III, 28, 127; Resolution of Cong., November 27, 1804; Mechlin & Winder, Gen. Navy Reg. & Laws, 508; Naval Pamphlet, 1822-1831, let. to Speaker of House, December 6, 1826, enclosing Decatur's list; See also Marshall, Hist. Nav. Acad., 146-155.

62. Autobiography of Commodore Charles Morris, 25.

63. " * * the most bold and daring act of the age." (Nelson) (Nav. Inst. Proc., CXVII, 905; Abbot, Nav. Hist., U.S., 201); Nelson at Cape St. Vincent exclaimed - "Glorious Victory or Westminster Abbey," and Decatur might have exclaimed - "The Philadelphia Frigate - or a Monument in Philadelphia City." (Waldo, Life of Decatur, 110-111).

64. Towers, Documents Concerning Destruction of Philadelphia, 15.

65. Sparks, Amer. Biog., Series 12, Poole, 22, 63; Harper's Mag., July, 1905; Blyth, Hist., War Bet., U.S.; and Tripoli, 108; Nav. Inst., Proc., January, 1925, 34-35.

66. To reward those who had participated in this feat, which Lord Nelson, it is said, called "the most bold and daring act of the age," Congress made Decatur a Captain etc., and the name of the ketch was changed to Intrepid, (Spears, Hist. of Our Navy, I, 357-358).

67. Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., (1813), 109.
68. Sparks, Amer. Biography, 79.
69. Waldo, Life of Decatur, 134.
70. MacLay, Hist. of Navy, 276.
71. Fevret de St. Memin Coll. of Portraits, 17.
72. Marine Corps Size Rolls; See G.O. 382, March 28, 1918, which named destroyer Mercedith.
73. Clark, Naval Hist. U.S. (1814), I, 156, says "An American." Abbot, Naval Hist., U.S., 205, 208, calls Reuben James an "humble actor in the first attack upon Tripoli," and that he "interposed his own head to save his commander's life."
74. Allen, Our Navy & The Barbary Corsairs, 191, 192.
75. Allen believed that it was a seaman named Daniel Frazier who saved Decatur's life on this occasion. One of our earliest naval historians writing in 1813 (Clark, Naval Hist. U.S. (1813), 11) stated that "Captain Decatur, having grappled one of the enemy's boats, boarded with only 15 men. Five Turks immediately attacked him with scymeters * * * he broke his sword * * * fell under him [Captain of boat] killed Turk [with pistol] * * * a Sergeant and a Marine, seeing his danger, flew to his relief, engaged and slew the other four assailants." This same historian brought out a two volume history in 1814 and stated that "an American" saved the life of Decatur. (Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., I, 156); Sparks, American Biography, 2nd Series, II, 92, wrote that it was Reuben James who saved Decatur's life. James "who had lost the use of both arms by wounds, rushed in, intercepted the descending scimeter with his own head." A foot-note states that "some have said this noble act of self-sacrifice was performed by Daniel Frazier, which left the name of the individual somewhat uncertain"; but Sparks' version had been derived from J.K. Hamilton and Francis Gurney Smith who had drawn it from Decatur himself. Frost, Pictorial Hist. of the Amer. Navy, 154, wrote regarding the first boat captured by Decatur that he "boarded with but 15 men." Decatur was attacked by 5. He killed a big Turk who lay on him with pistol. "Meanwhile his Sergeant and a Marine soldier, seeing his danger, flew to his relief, and engaged and slew the other four assailants." Hill, Twenty-Six Historic Ships, 114, wrote "During this melce, a sergeant of Marines

75. (Continued)

interposed between his commander and another Turk, who was about to cleave Lieut. Decatur's skull, receiving the sabre stroke on his own arm, which was nearly severed by the blow."; "A noble-hearted tar," received "the blow on his own head fracturing his skull." We "are happy to add that this generous fellow survived, and now receives a pension." (Williams, Sketches of the War Between the U.S. & British Isles (1815), I, 119-120); Reuben James "deliberately put his own head in the way and caught the stroke aimed for Decatur," and "was back at his post in three weeks." (Stevens, Story of Navy (1914), 48); "One of Decatur's crew" immediately "threw his mutilated body between the falling sabre and his Captain's head - received a severe fracture in his own," and "the lamented Decatur afterwards distinguished this seaman with something more than mere notice - he gave him money." (Putnam, Amer. Nav. Heroes in War of Rev. (1823), 200-201; Putname, Life of Decatur (1822), 132-133); The Military & Naval Mag., accords Reuben James credit for this Act and cites Naval Temple account of the incident, but it is believed that Naval Temple does not mention anyone by name; Hollis, Frigate Constitution states it was Reuben James; See Army & Navy Chron., February 16, 1837, 116, for Life of Reuben James; It is quite probable that it was Sergeant Solomon Wron, who had served with Decatur in burning the Philadelphia who saved Decatur's life on this occasion, since he was officially reported wounded; Much has been written concerning what was done for Reuben James. A research of original material in the Pension Office, Washington, D.C., discloses that according to a letter dated February 6, 1884, General James Grant Wilson states that James "in his letter dated in March, 1837, when he was 61 years old, he stated that he was with Decatur in the war with Tripoli, and that he had served 33 years in the Navy, without giving any details. A short time prior to the above date his leg was amputated, probably at the Naval Hospital in" Washington. The Pension records give no date of death but the last payment of pension was to July 1, 1838, and a letter from the Naval Hospital of Washington dated September, 1838, stated that James "being penniless and sick he had presented himself for admission." On September 22, 1836, "Ja. Rodgers" certified that Reuben James had served under his command as a boatswain's mate for several years. On March 8, 1837, James wrote Secretary of Navy Mahlon Dickerson that he had been confined in the Naval Hospital, Washington, for five months, had had his leg amputated; that he was sixty years old; that he

75. (Continued)
had served thirty-three years in the Navy and requested a "larger pension." An indorsement, dated March 10, 1837, on the back of this letter stated that "the 7th Section of the Act of the 16th of April, 1816, authorizes the Secretary under certain circumstances, to place a pensioner on full monthly pay and a more worthy case than this can not be presented. The present pension is \$9.50, full pay as above \$19.00." On April 14, 1837, James wrote Secretary asking that his "account for a pension" be transferred from the Norfolk to the Baltimore station near which place he expected to reside. Reuben James could not sign his name and affixed his "mark" to these letters signed by him.
76. Size Rolls; Report of Preble in Amer. St. Pap. (Nav. Aff.), I.
77. Hollis, Frigate Constitution, 116.
78. Report dated September 18, 1804, in Nat. Intell., February 25-27, 1805; Nav. Inst. Proc., V, 89.
79. Preble's General Order dated August 4, 1804, reads "the gallant behavior of the officers, seamen and Marines * * * claim the warmest approbation & praise he can bestow."; Mag. of Hist., Extra Nos. 4, No. 13-16, 124-131; MacLay, Hist. of Navy, I, 279.
80. Wharton to Capt. John Hall, March 29, 1805.
81. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 389, Smith to Wharton, April 3, 1805; Nat. Intell., March 4, 1805; but for some reason this order was rescinded on August 31, 1805. (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., Smith to Wharton, August 31, 1805, I, 15).
82. Machlin & Winder, Gen. Navy Reg. & Laws, 508; Resolution of March 3, 1805; See also Marshall, Hist. Nav. Acad., 146-155; On April 30, 1808, Sec. Navy Smith transmitted to Capt. John Hall his medal; On February 29, 1808, Sec. Navy Rt. Smith presented Lt. Col. Commandant Franklin Wharton with one of these medals. (Marine Corps Archives); Sec. Navy Rt. Smith on February 29, 1808, transmitted to Lt. Col. Comm't. Wharton for his "acceptance" an "impression of the medal presented to the late Commodore Edward Preble" under Resolution of March 3, 1805.
83. Size Rolls; See Amer. St. Pap., Naval Aff., I.

84. John Adams and Gunboats Nos. 3, 6, and 7, sailed from United States for Mediterranean on May 14, 1805. A storm on May 16th, drove No. 7 back to the United States. (Nat. Intell., June 7, 1805); Gunboats arrived at Gibraltar. (Nat. Intell., July 31, 1805).
85. See Nat. Intell., April 16, 1804, that states Lieuts. Amory, Hall, Hooper and Lane were ordered.
86. A Gen. View of the Rise, Progress & Brilliant Achievements of the Amer. Navy, 1828.
87. Navy Let. Bk., Officers Commdg. Gunboats, I, 148, Sec. Navy to J.D. Henley shows he sailed with Gunboats 4, 5, and 10; See. Navy Let. Bk., I, 143, Sec. Navy to John Shaw of John Adams shows he escorted Gunboats Nos. 6 and 7, & possible No. 3; Navy Misc. Let. Bk., III, Izard (on Gunboat No. 2 at Gibraltar) to Sec. Navy, June 10, 1805, reports arrival of Nos. 2, on June 5, 1805, at Gibraltar; Nos. 8 & 9, on the 6th; all gunboats (except one that returned to New York) arrived at Gibraltar safely. (Navy Misc. Let. Bk., V, 9, Crowninshield to Sec. Navy, August 28, 1805).
88. See Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXIV, 896; Idem, 1141.
89. Sparks, Library of Amer. Biog., IX, 290-333.
90. At an earlier date Cathcart, Consul at Tripoli, suggested to Eaton "the idea of an attack on Tripoli by land, in concert with Hamet, then resident at Tunis." (Hildreth, Hist. of U.S., V, 558-562).
91. Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., I, 164, states that the "Americans" now decided "to assist the late Bashaw of Tripoli in recovering the government of the state" from his brother, and that "General Eaton, was sent to communicate this design to the ex-Bashaw, who was then concealed in Europe."
92. See also Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 274-296; Sparks, Library of Amer. Biog., IX, 290-333.
93. In a Special Message, January 13, 1806, caused by the appeal of Hamet to "place him on the throne" in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty, President Jefferson stated that "a concert in action" with Hamet Caramalli had been authorized. Further that Commodore Barron had been authorized to "enter into an understanding with Hamet" in his discretion. Eaton was made "an agent for the Navy in that sea." It was expected that Hamet would attack by land as Americans attacked by sea. A "cooperation only was intended and

93. (Continued)

by no means a union of our object with the fortune of the ex-bashaw." (Writings of Jefferson, III; 402-407); A letter of Eaton to Sec. Navy, December 19, 1805, enclosed a copy of the verbal instructions given by Commodore Barron to Captain Isaac Hull of the U.S.S. Argus and William Eaton on September 15, 1804. The copy attested to with signatures of Hull and Eaton included - "I will take the most effective measures with the force under my command for cooperating with him [Hamet Bashaw, brother of Bashaw of Tripoli] against the usurper, his brother; and for re-establishing him in the Regency of Tripoli." (Navy Misc. Letters, VI, 100); United State was committed to "cooperate" with Hamet. (Minnigerode, Lives and Times, 70-72); See also Memoirs, J.Q. Adams, I, 429-430; Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 297; See Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, I, 429-430; See also A General View of the Rise, Progress & Brilliant Achievements of the American Navy; Blyth, Hist., War Between U.S., and Tripoli, 129-143.

94. Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., I, 165, states Eaton's force included "seven Marines;" Paullin, Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers, 84.

95. Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 303; Paullin, John Rodgers, 120-169; Dawson, Battles of the U.S., II, 62; Hill, Twenty-Six Historic Ships, 51; Stanley Lane-Poole, Story of the Barbary Corsairs, 290-291.

96. Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 301; Sparks, Library of Amer. Biog.; IX, 290-333; See also Minnigerode, Lives and Times, 80.

97. An interesting discussion on this name occurred in Congress on December 12, 1805. Mr. Bidwell moved to substitute "gold medal" for "sword" carried in the Resolution relative to General Eaton, offered the day before. Mr. Quincy moved to substitute "Barca" in the room of "Lybia" "under the impression that the latter word has ceased to be in use, except among classical writers" and this "Motion disagreed to." (Nat. Intell., December 13, 1805); "Barca is said to have derived its name from the ancient city of Barce, built according to Herodotus, by Battus, son of Arcesilas, King of Egypt." (Tully, Narrative of a Residence at Tripoli, 11).

98. Worcester Amer. Antiquarian Soc., N.S., XXI, 122, Wm. Eaton to Isaac Hull, January 8, 1805.

99. Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 322-324; Sparks, Library of Amer. Biography, IX, 290-333.

100. See Notes 93-112.
101. Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., I, 165; Naval Hos. Bulletin, XVII, 262; Denison, Pictorial Hist. Wars of U.S., 260-265; Hildreth, Hist. U.S., V, 558-562; Minnigerode Lives and Times, 87-88; Greenhow, Hist. and Present Condition, Tripoli, 24-25; Noah's Travels in Europe and Africa, 349-355; Blyth, Hist., War Between U.S., and Tripoli, 115-123.
102. Clark, Naval Hist. U.S. (1813), 119; See also Nat. Geog. Mag., September, 1924, 233-278.
103. Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 330.
104. Waldo, Amer. Naval Heroes, 230-231.
105. Hill, Twenty-Six Historic Ships, 51.
106. Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 336-340; Sparks, Lib. of Amer. Biog., IX, 290-333; Nav. Hosp. Bulletin, XVII, 263.
107. MacLay, Hist. of Navy, I, 300; Hill, Twenty-Six Historic Ships, 51; "At about half past 3, we had the satisfaction to see Lt. O'Bannon of the M.C. & Mr. Mann, midshipman of the Argus, with a few brave fellows with them enter the Fort, haul down the enemy's flag & plant the American on the walls of the battery." (Report dated April 28, 1805, Hull to Barron, in Nat. Intell., September 16, 1805.
108. Marine Corps Size Rolls.
109. Nat. Intell., September 16, 1805, (Report of Isaac Hull, C.O. of Argus, to Barron dated April 28, 1805).
110. Commissioner Tobias Lear wrote Eaton on June 6, 1805, asking him to "present to Mr. O'Bannon," and others his "sincere congratulations on an event" which "their heroic bravery has tended to render so honorable to our Country." (Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 365-366, 390-391); Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 336-340; Idem, 447-448, publishes his two poems on Derne - one by Robert Treat Paine and the other by John Pierpont; Washington Irving also wrote a monograph on Derne; The Library Edition of the Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier, 164-165, contains an interesting poem entitled "Derne."
111. See Letter, Hull to Eaton, Worcester Amer. Antiquarian Society, XXI, 121; Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 336-340.

112. Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 335, 349-350; In his message, December 3, 1805, President Jefferson stated that an operation by land, by a small band of our countrymen, and others engaged for the occasion, in conjunction with the troops of the ex-Bashaw of that country, gallantly conducted by our late Consul Eaton, and in their successful enterprize on the City of Derne, contributed doubtless to the impression which produced peace." (Writings of Jefferson, III, 390-391); In his special message of January 13, 1806, President Jefferson clearly states that Tobias Lear took advantage of the "impressions from the capture of Derne might still operate at Tripoli." (Writings of Jefferson, III, 403-407); Hearing of his losses at Derne "the Bashaw of Tripoli, fearing to be severely handled by our fleet in his own capital, sent a flag of truce to Malta and proposed a peace." (Crownshield to Sec. Navy, August 28, 1805, Navy Misc. Letters, V, 9); Grimshaw, Hist. of U.S., 225-226, states "Eaton performed his part with distinguished luster"; the "brilliant progress promised the most glorious and beneficial result. But the fruits of his achievements were blasted, before they had reached maturity," by the treaty; Sparks, Library of Amer. Biog., IX, 290-333, states "the bravery of the Americans at Derne, and the idea that they had a large force and abundant supplies at that place, had made a strong impression on the Bashaw."
113. G-2, file No. 2045-907 of Army; See also Correspondence of Historical Section, Army War College, October 4, 1924, concerning this subject initiated by a letter dated September 25, 1924, from Italian Military Attache to Major H.W.T. Eglin, Foreign Liason Officer, U.S. Army.
114. Waldo, Life of Decatur, 144-145, discounts effects of the Derne Expedition, but the reasons advanced are not consistent with the magnificent success of Eaton and O'Bannon at Derne; Winsor, Narr. & Crit. Hist. of Amer., VII, 375, states that Eaton's Expedition "doubtless had a strong additional influence with the Tripolitan Government on yielding"; Denison, Illus. Hist. of the New World, 467-469, "But this fair prospect of driving the reigning bashaw from the throne, was dissolved by" the treaty.
115. See also A General View of the Rise, Progress & Brilliant Achievements of the Amer. Navy (1828); Hildreth, Hist. of U.S., V, 558-562.
116. Marine Corps Archives; See also United Service, I, January, 1879, 2, Article by Admiral Porter.

117. See Letter, Smith to Wharton, September 21, 1805; Marine Corps Archives.
118. Clark, Naval Hist. U.S., I, 165.
119. Prentiss, Life of Eaton, 362-363; See also Army & Navy Chron., II; 132; Hildreth, Hist. of U.S., V, 558-562; Sparks, Library of Amer. Biog., IX, 290-333; Minnigerode, Lives and Times, 90-92; Greenhow, Hist. and Present Condition, Tripoli, 32-33.
120. Clark, Naval Hist., U.S., I, 165, states that the "treaty took place at a most unfortunate period, when there is every reason to suppose that General Eaton would have forced the bashaw to unconditional submission, had the war continued."
121. A letter dated February 11, 1834, Sec. Navy Levi Woodbury to Lt. Col. Com. Henderson refers to Alexander McDonald a Marine who claimed to have been wounded on Congress, in Tripolitan War. (Marine Corps Archives).
122. Morrison, Stranger's Guide to the City of Washington, 67.
123. Journal, House Delegates of Virginia, 1805-1806 Session, p. 16, December 9, 1805 contains resolution conferring sword and gold medal on O'Bannon "a citizen of this Commonwealth;" John Greenleaf Whittier wrote an inspiring eight-verse poem entitled "Derne" in appreciation of "the higher and holier heroism of Christian self-denial and sacrifice in the humble walks of private duty." (Complete Poetical Works of Whittier, Library Edition, 164-165).
124. Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1916, 269-278, contains a splendid article on the "Sword of the Corps," which furnishes illustrations of the original sword presented by the State of Virginia to Lieut. O'Bannon; For article on the Marine Corps sword See Marine Corps Gazette, September, 1920, Frontispiece, Marine Corps Poep Sight, II, No. 13; Marine Corps Rec. Bull., June, 1915, 6, November, 1916, 5; Marine Corps Leatherneck, December 13, 1924, 6; Washington Star, January 23, 1925 (Haskins); Field, Britain's Sea Soldiers, II, 118-119 contains an illustration, date about 1857, in which several officers carry the Mameluke sword in the Advance to the Assault of the Secundrabagh; The so-called "Mameluke Grip" is part of practically all Turkish military swords. In Braun and Schneider, Hist. of Costumes, a German Book, will be seen the Mameluke Grip sword carried by Zeibek (sort of outlaw from Smyrna), p. 885;

124. (Continued)

Maronite of Lebanon, Syria, p. 885; Damascus, p. 885; the Emir of Bukhara (on frontier of the Himalayas, between Himalataa and Hindustan), p. 1053; Janisaries of Turkey, p. 1017. In Burton, Book of the Sword will be seen a Mameluke Grip on an Old Persian Sword, p. 139; on a Hindoo-Mussulman Sword in Khorassan damascened work, p. 391; and on a Turkish Sabre, 17th Century, p. 392. In April, 1830, the officers of the Concord, commanded by Perry, dined with Mehemet, Viceroy of Egypt, who exterminated the Mamelukes. Thirteen swords were presented to the officers and all of them had the Mameluke Grip. (M.C. Perry, Griffin; Powell, Road to Glory, 287); these Mameluke swords were brought home and thirteen of them may be seen in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.; Photographs of Lord Roberts show him carrying a Mameluke Sword; See long article on two or three hundred year old swords owned by De Prang, the violinist, and also photographs of the swords showing them to be "Mameluke" gripped. They bear the crests and insignia of King Racoci II of Transylvania and Hungary and formerly the property of the Turks. (Philadelphia Public Ledger, October 5, 1924, 8); Count Laszlo Szechenyi, who married Gladys Vanderbilt, also carried a Mameluke sword; Many of the Haitian war machetes have this same grip without the cross-piece.

125. G.O. No. 425, Navy Department, 1918; Marine Corps Rec. Bulletin, June, 1919, 7.

126. See State Journal, Frankfort, Ky., June 15, 1920 carrying a description of the ceremony incident to unveiling of monument at Frankfort and also a poem to him by Henry Cleveland Wood; Register, Kentucky State Hist. Soc., January, 1920 which contains an illustration which is not of O'Bannon.

127. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 267-269.

128. Nat. Intell., September 18, 1805; Allen, Our Navy and Barbary Corsairs, 270.

129. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 270.

130. Captain Anthony Gale, writing on July 16, 1806, denied that Commodore Rodgers had run him through body and killed him, and praised the Commodore highly. (Nat. Intell., August 4, 1806.

131. Porter's Memoir, 68; Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 272; Navy Let. Bk., Commanders Letters, II,

131. (Continued)

51, Porter to Secretary of the Navy, August 19, 1806.

132.

Hollis, Frigate Constitution; 120; Life and Adventures of James R. Duffant; 59; Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 272-273; In 1807 Port Mahon on the Island of Minorca was selected as a Navy Base. (Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1296; Navy Barbary Powers Let. Bk., 1-44; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VIII, 299.

INDEX for CHAPTER XV
Volume I.

Adams.....	11, 15, 41
Alexander, Lieutenant Philip.....	8, 40
Alexandria, Egypt.....	27, 28
Algiers.....	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 33, 39
American Consulate, affront to.....	6
American Policy, an.....	4
Amory, Lieutenant William.....	25
Annual Expense of Marine Corps.....	10
Arabs.....	27, 28, 29
Argus.....	16, 19, 25, 26, 27, 30, 37, 49, 50
Bainbridge, Captain William.....	2, 17, 19, 38
Baldwin, Lieutenant Samuel.....	11
Ball, Sir Alexander.....	25
Barbary Corsairs.....	1
Barbary Regencies.....	27
Barbary States.....	1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 12, 35
Barron, Commodore.....	22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 32, 40, 42, 48, 49, 50
Bashaw of Tripoli.....	6, 12, 16, 19, 23, 26, 27, 33, 43, 48, 49, 51
Battle at Derne, description of.....	30, 31
Bey of Tripoli.....	4, 7, 11
Boston.....	10, 11
Burrows, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, W. W.....	7, 8, 10, 13, 17, 39, 40 41
Cairo, Egypt.....	27
Caldwell, Lieutenant Henry.....	25
Campbell, Captain U. S. Navy.....	37
Caramelli, Jusuf.....	27
Carmick, Captain Daniel.....	11, 13
Casualties.....	9, 10, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31, 32, 34
Cause of Tripolitan War.....	5
Chesapeake.....	11, 13
Congress.....	3, 8, 10, 19, 22, 24, 40, 44, 49
Congress, frigate.....	25, 26, 36, 52
Constellation.....	11, 14, 25, 26, 33, 34, 36
Constitution.....	16, 19, 21, 25, 26, 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 46, 54
"Consular Pursuit".....	19
"Coup de Main".....	28
Crew of <u>Intrepid</u>	18
Dale, Commodore.....	6, 7, 11, 25, 26
Decatur, Stephen.....	13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 42, 44, 45
Derne, Tripoli.....	29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 50, 51, 52
Dey of Algiers.....	2, 3, 7

"Dey's Lord of the Bed Chamber".....	38
Distribution of Marine Corps Personnel.....	14
Duelling.....	13, 14
Eaton, William, Navy Agent.....	27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 48, 51
Eaton's Expedition, personnel of.....	28, 29
Egypt.....	1, 27, 30, 34, 49
Emperor of Morocco.....	42, 16
Enterprise, Schooner.....	8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25, 26, 36, 37, 40
Essex.....	8, 11, 25, 26, 36, 37, 40, 43
Ex-Bashaw Hamet Caramelli.....	25, 48, 49, 51
Evacuation of Derne, Tripoli.....	33, 34
Ferwick, Lieutenant John R.....	8, 11
Frazier, Daniel.....	20
French Naval War.....	1, 2, 6
Gale, Anthony.....	24, 36
General Greene.....	12
George Washington.....	2, 3, 7, 10, 38, 39
Gibraltar.....	10, 40, 43, 48
Greeks.....	31, 34
Greenleaf, Lieutenant Robert.....	16, 21, 25, 43
Hall, Captain John.....	16, 25, 47
Hall, Lieutenant Edward.....	11, 14, 24
Hamet Caramelli.....	27, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 48, 49
Hampton Roads.....	8, 33
Hooper, Lieutenant Thomas.....	8, 25
Hornet, sloop.....	26, 30, 36, 37
Howard, Lieutenant John.....	16, 19, 25, 33
Intrepid (<u>Mastico</u>) ketch.....	17, 18, 19, 23, 44
James, Reuben.....	20, 21, 45, 47
Jefferson, President.....	3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 24, 26, 40, 48, 51
Jervis, Sir John.....	1
John Adams.....	11, 12, 15, 16, 24, 25, 26, 35, 36, 43, 44, 48
Johnson, Lieutenant John.....	8, 11, 22, 25, 40
Keene, Lieutenant Newton.....	8, 11, 40
Lane, Lieutenant Enoch C.....	8, 19, 39
Lear, Tobias, Consul General.....	32, 33, 50
Llewellyn, Lieutenant Samuel.....	11, 16, 25

McKnight, Captain James.....	11, 13, 14, 39, 40, 42
Malta, Egypt.....	28
Mamelukes.....	27, 29, 34
Mann, Midshipman George.....	27, 31, 50
Marine Corps, annual expense of.....	10
Marine Corps, Distribution of Personnel.....	14
Marine Corps, reduction of.....	8, 12, 42
Marine Corps, strength of.....	14
Marine Corps, Sword of.....	35
Marines taken on Philadelphia.....	17
Mastico (<u>Intrepid</u>) Ketch.....	17
Mecca.....	3
Mediterranean.....	1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 23, 24, 35, 37, 41, 48
Mediterranean "Pot".....	4
Meredith, Sergeant Jonathan.....	19, 20, 23, 34
Meshouda, Moorish warship.....	5, 15, 43, 44
"Millions for defense, etc". (?).....	3
Mirboka, Moorish warship.....	5
Mix, Sergeant James P.....	40
Mohammedans.....	3
Moors.....	5
Morocco.....	1, 4, 6, 12, 16
Morris, Commodore.....	11, 15, 26
Murboka, Moorish cruiser.....	16, 44
Musselmen.....	3
"My Head or Yours".....	30
<u>Nautilus</u>	16, 19, 21, 25, 26, 30, 36
Nelson, Admiral.....	1
<u>New York</u>	11, 12, 14, 15, 16
O'Bannon, Lieutenant Presley N.....	10, 11, 16, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34 35, 41, 50, 51, 52
O'Brien, Consul.....	3
Osborne, Lieutenant William S.....	8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 33
<u>Paulina</u> , Tripolitan Polacre.....	40
Peace Establishment Act.....	6, 8
Personnel of Eaton's Expedition.....	28, 29
<u>Philadelphia</u>	8, 11, 14, 16, 18, 23, 26, 27, 33, 39, 43, 44, 46
Pope, Declaration of.....	25
Porter, Captain David, U. S. Navy.....	37
Preble, Commodore.....	15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 47
"Presents".....	1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 39
<u>President</u>	7, 8, 10, 11, 23, 24, 26, 33, 36
Prizes.....	11, 15, 16, 38
Prize Money.....	44
Punishment of <u>Tripoli's</u> Commander.....	9
Ransoms.....	19, 23, 33
Reduction of Marine Corps.....	8, 12, 42

Regency of Algiers.....	7
Repelling Boarders.....	9
Rodgers, Captain John, U. S. Navy.....	15,16,26,33,35,36,37
Salutes.....	7
Scourge.....	19
Secretary of the Navy.....	7,10,19,22,25,49
Siren, brig.....	19,25,26,36,42,47
Smith, Lieutenant Jacob G.....	11
Spitfire, Bomb.....	26
Strength of Marine Corps.....	14
Sultan of Turkey.....	3
Swan, Mr., Acting Marine Officer.....	22
Sword of Marine Corps.....	35,52,53
Syren.....	16
Tangiers.....	5,16
Tingey, Captain Thomas.....	42
Treaties.....	12,16,25,27,33,52
Tribute.....	1,2,3,5,7,27,33,35,38
Tribute-Treaty.....	4
Tribute, Hot lead as.....	10
Tripoli.....	1,5,6,9,10,15,18,19,22,23,25,27,33,34,35,36,39,45,48,51
Tripoli, Tripolitan Polacre.....	9,40
Tripolitan "Nut".....	27
Tripolitan War.....	1,5,26,34
Trippé, Lieutenant John.....	19,20,21
Tunis.....	1,6,35,48
Turkey.....	3
Vengeance, Bomb.....	26
Vixen.....	16,19,21,25,26,36
West Indies.....	14
Wharton, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Franklin.....	2,22,23,24,47
Whitten, Private John (Killed).....	32
Winder, Private Derrick C.....	15
Wren, Sergeant Solomon.....	47

SIX BUSY YEARS BETWEEN 1801 AND 1806

Chapter XVI, Volume I

History of the United States Marine Corps

By

Major Edwin N. McClellan, U.S. Marines
Officer-in-Charge
Historical Section.

First Edition
JULY 23, 1925

FORENOTE

If details concerning the participation of the Navy and Army in any operation or incident described herein do not appear, such omission occurs only because it is impracticable in a history of this character to set forth more than the work of the Marines themselves. To do more than this would extend the history beyond the scope and size planned. In many of the operations described, the Navy or the Army, or both, have been present in greater strength than the Marines, and full credit is here given for their splendid achievements.

The following form of citation is suggested if it is desired to cite, either in published works, or manuscript, any information contained herein:-

(McClellan, Hist., U.S.M.C., 1st ed., I, Chap. 16, p--)

CHAPTER XVI

SIX BUSY YEARS BETWEEN 1801 AND 1806.

The period 1801-1806 saw a victorious peace with France after a naval struggle; a less satisfactory peace with the Barbary State of Tripoli after five years of war; the acquisition of Louisiana and the establishing of a Marine Barracks at New Orleans; the inauguration of the Jeffersonian "Gunboat Policy", calling for unusually hard duty for Marines; the independence of the second sovereign republic in America - the Republic of Haiti; the resignation of the First Commandant of the Marine Corps, William Ward Burrows, and his death exactly one year later; the appointing of Captain Franklin Wharton to succeed Lieutenant Colonel Burrows; and many other interesting events. Several of these subjects have been or will be, treated in chapters other than this, which will be devoted to events equally as interesting.

The Marines were active in the wars and on the frontiers and ships that touched the raw edges of international misunderstandings with our neighbors on the north, west and south. Our country was engaged in actual wars from 1798 to 1805 and the year 1806 found warlike friction with Spain and Great Britain. The Marines however, did more than fight in these years. They were the "Shock Absorbers" of the Nation and in no other period have they more efficiently played their part as "Presidential Troops".

The first New Year's Reception ever held in the President's House in Washington occurred on January 1, 1801, under shivering conditions. The down-stairs rooms were neither finished nor completely furnished. The reception was held in the Oval Room upstairs.¹ There is evidence that the Marine Band led by its first leader, Drum Major William Farr, made its first appearance at the White House on this occasion. It was anything but a "happy house-warming" and proved to be a very formal affair. Mrs. Adams sat in state in her brocades and velvet while the President stood beside her in knee breeches, gay waist coat, high collar, and his powdered hair tied in a neat queue.² Lieutenant Colonel Burrows, and his officers were among those who attended.

The shadows were now closing in upon the term of Adams and Jefferson. The XYZ Affair, the French Naval War, the Alien and Sedition Laws, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions were all now history.

Then came the first triumphant hour of the Republicans who the Marine officers, in their letters to the Commandant, called Democrats - the first inauguration in Washington. At an early hour on March 4, 1801, the City of Washington presented a spectacle of uncommon animation, occasioned by the addition to its usual population of a large body of citizens from the adjacent districts. The sun shone brightly. An artillery discharge ushered in the day. About 10:00 a.m., the troops paraded in front of the

President elect's lodgings at McMunn and Conrad's as the Marine Band played Jefferson's March and other airs. At noon, Thomas Jefferson, attended by many citizens, repaired on foot to the Capitol. He was plainly dressed. He entered the Capitol under a discharge from the artillery. After the ceremony he walked back to McMunn and Conrad's and received "a number of distinguished citizens."³

The Marines lost a good friend when Benjamin Stoddert, the first Secretary of the Navy retired in 1801. Although anxious to quit office with John Adams, he held over until June, 1801. After his resignation was accepted by President Jefferson, a temporary arrangement was effected. Secretary of War Samuel Dearborn was made Acting Secretary of the Navy and Samuel Smith performed the actual duties of the office under Dearborn.⁴

Thomas Jefferson was the first President of the United States to review a body of the regular armed forces of the United States on the White House Grounds. Fourth of July, 1801 was the date and it was Lieutenant Colonel Commandant William Ward Burrows who led his Marines past the White House as President Jefferson reviewed them to the animating musice of the Marine Band.⁵

The citizens of Washington and Georgetown waited upon President Jefferson "to make their devoirs", about noon on this occasion. The company included "all the public officers and most of the respectable citizens and strangers of distinction". Five Cherokee chiefs were present. Four

large sideboards were covered with refreshments, such as cakes of various kinds, wine, punch, etc. Every citizen was invited to partake, as their tastes dictated, of them, and the invitation was most cheerfully accepted by all.⁵

"Martial music soon announced the approach of the Marine Corps" commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Burrows, who in due military form saluted the President, accompanied by the President's March played by an excellent Band attached to the Corps."⁵

The Marines went "through the usual maneuvers in a masterly manner, fired sixteen rounds in platoon, and concluded with a general feu-de-joie."⁵

The company then "returned to the dining room, and the Band from an adjacent room played a succession of fine patriotic airs. All appeared to be cheerful, all happy." President "Jefferson mingled promiscuously with the citizens and far from designating any particular friends for consultation, conversed for a short time with every one that came his way." The company separated at two o'clock.⁵

"At four o'clock a numerous and respectable company assembled" at McMunn and Conrad's. "Among them were the Heads of the Departments, other high officials and most, if not all, of the civil officers attached to the general government, the officers of the Marine Corps and those of the frigates, with a number of military gentlemen at present at the seat of government." M. Pichon, Charge

d'affaires of the French Republic was present and Mr. Law and Captain Tingey presided. "During the dinner, and until the company separated a full Band of Music, detached from Lieutenant-Colonel Burrow's Marine Corps, played patriotic and festive airs, and each toast was announced by a discharge of artillery, returned from one of the frigates." The toasts were accompanied by music from the band.⁵

From those January days in 1776 when Nicolas' Battalion served the Artillery in Washington's Army, to the present, artillery duty has been an important part of the Marines' duty. The regular Marine Corps has never been formally divided as was the Royal Marines of Great Britain into infantry and artillery;⁶ but in 1801 there was organized "The Providence Marine Corps of Artillery", a state organization of Rhode Island.⁷

The year 1802 was a busy year which began with President Jefferson's reception on New Year's Day.

The Fourth of July, 1802, was celebrated in Washington "with unusual enthusiasm". There was a reception at noon by President Jefferson. It was a fete day at the Navy Yard, and the Marine Band was one of the main attractions. "The arrangements of the Navy Yard were made, under the superintendence of Captain Tingey and Lieutenant-Colonel Burrows, with a very happy regard to elegance and accommodation." The "ladies were received under a handsome marquee, until dinner time, when the company was arranged at an ex-

tensive table in the form of a hollow square, under a lofty tent covered with the colors of the frigates, which lay within view, ornamented with flags of all nations."⁸

Lieutenant-Colonel Burrows maintained his interest in the social affairs of Washington and in December, 1802 we read that he was one of the seven Managers of the City Dancing Assemblies, the first dance of which occurred at Stelle's Hotel on December 9, 1802.⁹

The President's House was thrown wide open on New Year's Day 1803, and the Marine Band, following precedent,¹⁰ furnished the music.

The Fourth of July, 1803, was celebrated in Washington enthusiastically. Early in the day a parade and "marching salute" to President Jefferson took place. Between Noon and 2:00 p.m. the President was waited upon by a large company of ladies and gentlemen at the President's House. A big dinner of a public character was served at Stelle's Hotel at 4:00 p.m. The Marine Band assisted at all these functions and ceremonies.¹¹

President Jefferson called for the services of the Marine Band at his customary New Year's Day reception in 1804 at the President's Mansion. On the last day of the old year the Commandant directed "that the Adjutant attend to the Band's being ready and in perfect order on Monday to go and be at the President's by twelve o'clock," and that "the officers are requested to appear at the

Colonel's on Monday in full uniform precisely at one o'clock to go and pay their respects to the President and afterwards to the Secretary of the Navy." At the White House all "partook of a handsome repast rendered more agreeable by the accompaniment of the Marine and Italian Bands."¹²

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant William Ward Burrows offered his resignation from the Corps and it was accepted by Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith for the President on March 7, 1804. On the same date Captain Franklin Wharton,¹³ who was then commanding the Philadelphia Barracks, received orders to "without delay repair to this place and leave directions with Lieutenant Gale to proceed in the recruiting business."¹⁴ On the 14th, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, officially notified the Marines of the resignation of the Commandant.¹⁵ On April 1st, the Secretary wrote Captain Wharton "that in view of Lieutenant-Colonel Burrows having resigned", he, being the senior officer of the Corps, would consider himself "as raised to the station of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Marine Corps until the pleasure of the Senate shall be known", and that his pay would "commence from the 7th of March last."¹⁶

On April 24, 1804, First Lieutenant Anthony Gale was informed by the Secretary of the Navy that "in consequence of the resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Burrows" Franklin Wharton had been "raised to the station of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Marine Corps", and that Gale

"being the senior First Lieutenant in the Corps" would consider himself "as raised to the station of Captain in the Marine Corps until the pleasure of the Senate shall be known."¹⁷

William Ward Burrows, the first commandant of the Marine Corps died at Washington on March 6, 1805, exactly one year after he had resigned. An obituary notice stated that he had "been long laboring under a severe indisposition, which he bore with manly fortitude. His services in nursing the infant Corps over which he presided, so useful to our naval enterprises, ought to be particularly commended by a grateful country. Of his abilities as an officer, we are now reaping the benefits. His virtue as a man, procured him many warm, sincere, and affectionate friends." Colonel Burrows was first buried in the Presbyterian Cemetery at Georgetown and in 1892 his remains were re-interred at Arlington on May 12th.¹⁸

During the civil war that had raged in Haiti when we were occupied with our Naval War with France, the United States had assisted Toussaint L'Ouverture, in his fight against Andre Rigaud, with vessels of war. Rigaud finally fled from Haiti and Toussaint became supreme. In July, 1801, three months after our peace with France, a constitution was proclaimed for Haiti and Toussaint was appointed Governor-General for life with the right to name his successor.¹⁹ In December, General LeClerc arrived in Haiti with an army of veterans from France, his mission

being to reconquer the island. With this force came Andre Rigaud and other enemies of Toussaint. Fighting occurred. Finally Toussaint and LeClerc called a truce. Toussaint surrendered in May, 1802, was arrested in June, and was deported to France where he died in prison on April 27, 1803.²⁰

The Haitians believing that they, and Toussaint, had been basely betrayed by the French, resumed the fighting under Dessalines in October, 1802. By November, 1803, the island was lost to France.²¹

The United States remained neutral during this struggle but kept war vessels in the vicinity to guard American lives and interests. An American war vessel was at Gonaives when Haitian independence was declared on January 1, 1804. An agent of the United States immediately renewed with Dessalines the commercial relations which had been formerly carried on with Toussaint. This quasi-recognition assisted Dessalines materially in his foreign relations, particularly with Great Britain. The United States, however, did not formally recognize the Republic of Haiti until 1861.²² In September, 1804, Dessalines was proclaimed Emperor of Haiti under the title of Jacques I, but Napoleon, however still claimed the island.²³

July 4, 1804 was not forgotten and the Marines did their share towards making the celebration a memorable one. President Jefferson received at noon and the pleasure of the company was considerably promoted by patriotic and

popular airs played, at intervals, by the Marine Band.

One of the most colorful events of this period was the experience of an ambassador who was sent to the United States by the Bey of Tunis. He possessed a high sense of the dramatic and Washington laughed and cried over his idiosyncrasies. That gentlemen went on board the Congress at Tunis on September 2, 1805, sailed the 5th, and arrived at Washington about November 1st.²⁴ The Marine officer of the Congress was Lieutenant John Johnson.

A detachment of Marines guarded "the quarters of the Tunisian Ambassador", in Washington on December 23, 1805, by order of Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith. Sentinels were placed in front and rear of the building, to prevent the curious from intruding.²⁵

The Tunisian "not having entirely succeeded in the general objects of his mission" was irritable and displeased. He was about to return to Tunis and the United States placed the U.S. Brig Franklin at his disposal. The Commanding Officer of the Franklin received orders on July 9, 1806, to carry the Minister and his suite from Boston to Tunis and to treat him "with that respectful attention and civility to which his distinguished character entitles him." The Minister however refused to have anything to do with the Franklin on the ground that since the vessel had once been sold by his master, the Bey, it would be an insult to the Bey to travel on her. Because of this whim, the goods of the Minister were transferred to the Two

Brothers chartered at American expense.²⁶

In view of the hostile attitude of the Tunisian Minister, the Secretary of the Navy on September 4, 1806, directed the Commanding Officer of the American squadron in the Mediterranean "to keep a watchful eye on the Bey of Tunis" as the Minister might "endeavor to move the Bey to a declaration of War."²⁶

New Year's Day, 1805, found the Marine Band playing at the usual New Year's Reception at the Presidential Mansion.

The "gunboat policy" was established during the administrations of Thomas Jefferson. He found sanction for the use of these gunboats and proof of their value in the naval experiences of England, Russia and Algiers. The opinions of General Horatio Gates and James Wilkinson, and of Commodores Samuel Barron and Thomas Tingey as to the efficacy of these vessels fortified his own."²⁷

Fifteen of these boats were authorized in 1803, 25 in 1805, 50 in 1806 and 188 in 1807. About one hundred and seventy-six of them were actually built, and construction of the first starting in 1804. Their average dimensions were sixty feet long, seventeen feet wide, and six feet deep.

A Marine Guard of about four Marines, in charge of a corporal or sergeant, served on each of these gunboats. Some of the boats carried a larger guard than this. For instance on board Gunboat No. 1 there were one sergeant,

one corporal and twelve privates in July 1804.²⁸ The non-commissioned Marines ordered in charge of the gunboat Marine Guards received orders to "repair on board and report" to "her commanding officer," and to "pay particular attention to the conduct, as well as appearance" of the Marines. "Soldiers unaccustomed to the duties of sailors will not," wrote the Commandant, "be ordered aloft," and the non-commissioned officers were informed that they would be "held accountable" for "military appearance" of their Marines.²⁹

Several of these gunboats crossed the Atlantic in 1806 to participate in the Tripolitan War.³⁰

The inauguration of Jefferson and Clinton on March 4, 1805, was enlivened by music from the Marine Band.

The citizens of Washington gave a dinner to Captain Bainbridge in September, 1805. Captain Tingey, of the Navy, acted as President of the dinner supported by Colonel Wharton, of the Marines, as Vice President. After the dinner was completed many toasts were drank, "accompanied by music from the band of the Marine Corps, and the elegant Italian Band," that had arrived in the frigate President.³¹

Another public dinner was given by the citizens of Washington, at Stelle's Hotel on October 28th of this year, to General Eaton who, with Lieutenant O'Bannon of the Marines, had gained fame at Derne in Tripoli. General Eaton had recently arrived home on the Franklin. Colonel John Taylor presided, "supported by Mr. William Simmons,

Colonel Wharton, Captain Brent, and Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, as Vice Presidents." During "the entertainment the spirits of the company were highly exhilarated by the spirited performances of the Marine and Italian Bands of Music."³²

The Marine Band, as we have seen, had its origin coincidentally with the Corps itself. During these years it was the only public band in Washington and was surely the "President's Own" because it was at the White House on every occasion when music was required. It early acquired the more popular sobriquet "The Band of the People" while Populum Servimus - "We serve the People" - is a motto that has always ruled its spirit. Practice was held regularly.³³ When it played outside its official duties it received compensation from the parties desiring its services.³⁴ In general the Adjutant was in charge of the Band and he fixed the hours of rehearsal and selected the pieces to be played.³⁵

The band often played in the Hall of Congress on Sundays, where their "glittering instruments and brilliant scarlet uniforms" made "a dazzling appearance."³⁶ We read that on February 10, 1804 the "Marines attended in the gallery. After the service, they performed Denmark. The music was excellent. It was said they had only two days to learn the tune."³⁷

The Marine Band received a new Leader in the year 1804, Drum Major Charles S. Ashworth succeeding Drum Major Farr.³⁸

There is a false tradition that the origin of the Marine Band was in a Band of kidnaped Italians, which has kept from the United States Marine Band a fair share of its glory as an American musical organization. "The music of a nation expresses its soul," it "interprets its history, its religion, its patriotism, and its social customs, as do few single mediums." In America the Marine Band has most aptly illustrated this. There is no musical organization in America that has done more in this line than the Marine Band. There is probably no organization in America that has yielded a more potent Americanizing influence than our Marine Band. Let it be said right here that the foundation of the Marine Band is American and not in a bunch of kidnaped Italians, as false tradition has it.

It seems that President Jefferson had an obsession concerning the importing of a foreign military band of music.⁴⁰ He and Colonel Burrows often rode horseback together. During one of these rides the President suggested that it might be a good idea to enlist some in Italy as Marines and bring them back to the United States and thus have two bands - one American and the other Italian. The Commandant following out this suggestion in 1803, directed Captain John Hall, who went out to the Mediterranean with Preble's Squadron, to bring some musicians home.

Having arrived in the Mediterranean, Captain Hall was on the alert to execute his mission. He met with an

Italian professor of music named Gaetano Varano, the leader of the band attached to a regiment of His Majesty the King of Naples, stationed at Syracuse. That gentleman refused the offer of Captain Hall to enter the Marines since he already had a satisfactory position. Varano, however, informed Captain Hall that he believed Gaetano Carusi, of Catania, Italy, would probably accept the offer. Captain Hall visited Catania and on February 17, 1805, enlisted Gaetano Carusi (looked upon as "Captain of the Band"), his two sons Samuel and Ignazio, aged 10 and 9 years respectively, Francisco Pulizzi, Felizzi (Felix) Pulizzi, Venerando Pulizzi (aged 12), Michael Sardo, Gaetano Sardo, and ten others. Lewis Carusi, a very young son of Gaetano was also brought along, though not enlisted.³⁹

This band of Italians and their wives and children immediately went on board the frigate Chesapeake. The war with Tripoli had been going on since 1801 and thus these newly enlisted Marine musicians fought in the fag-end of that war.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wharton had succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Burrows as Commandant in 1804. A full year later he was amazed to receive a letter dated February 28, 1805, from Captain John Hall, on the Congress, at Palermo, Italy, stating that he had regularly enlisted as Marines a "Band of Music" for the Corps, and has supplied them with instruments at the expense of the Corps. One month

later, Captain Hall wrote to the Commandant from Messina, that under orders of Commodore Barron he had visited Catania "for the purpose of procuring a Band;" that he had "been fortunate enough to enlist fourteen good musicians for the Marine Corps;" that he had secured instruments at Messina and as soon as they were received he would "render an account of all expenses" to the Commandant according to his orders. Captain Hall further explained that he had enlisted in this band in accordance with orders received from Lieutenant-Colonel Burrows before leaving, "and having engaged them at the same rate as the rest of our Musics," he would bring them back with him on the Congress; and that he hoped the Commandant would be "pleased with them."

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Wharton, was unaware of the orders Captain Hall had received from his predecessor, and was anything but "pleased" to have a second "Band of Music" on his hands. On June 29, he wrote Captain Hall that he had "never given any order for the collection of a band in the Mediterranean", and informed the Captain that it could "not be mentioned as belonging to the Corps;" also that "the Secretary of the Navy can never consent to allow two Military Bands for one Corps, and the Private Fund, hitherto used, has been done away with."⁴⁰

Captain Hall missed this letter in European waters, for upon his arrival at Hampton Roads on the President in September he informed the Commandant by letter that he had

added "eighteen good musicians" to his detachment which he hoped Col. Wharton would "be pleased with." The President then proceeded to Washington City.

Gaetano Carusi, the Leader of the Italian Band, wrote that on September 19, 1805, he and his companions "arrived in a desert, in fact, a place containing some two or three taverns, with a few scattering cottages or log huts, called the City of Washington, the Metropolis of the United States of America." They disembarked on the 20th and "joined in celebrating a great festival in honor of the soldiers who had fought against the pirates of Tripoli." This was the dinner to Captain Bainbridge in September 1805 already described.

When Captain Hall arrived in Washington, he was given an opportunity to explain his band-making proclivities. On May 13, 1806, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, Colonel Wharton and Captain Hall "went into conference" on the "subject of the Italian musicians." As a result of this conference the Secretary wrote Commodore Rodgers in the Mediterranean, on May 15, 1806, that "Captain Hall of the Marine Corps, having while in the Mediterranean without competent authority but under" direction of Commodore Barron, "enlisted a number of musicians," and caused considerable inconvenience, this letter was being written with the hope that he would not fall "into a similar error."⁴¹

The next heard of "Captain Hall's Band of Italians"

was on July 31, 1806, when the Commandant ordered that the "Italian Band" live in "quarters within the garrison" and be "under the same regulations as the Old Band is and has been." Shortly after this the members of the Italian Marine Band were either discharged or taken into the regular Marine Band.⁴²

Musicians enlisted in the Mediterranean as Fifers and Drummers of the Marine Corps formed the first ship's band of the Navy. The Commandant protested to Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith against this practice of commanding officers of naval vessels, and the Secretary in a letter dated May 15, 1806, agreed that it was "irregular and unauthorized and would not be permitted in the future."⁴³ It was in this manner that the Navy bandsmen came by their Marine uniforms.

Drum Major Ashworth led the Band through a very successful concert at President Jefferson's reception on New Year's Day, 1806. The Tunisian ambassador and suite were among the callers. From across the room they were eyed by a band of Osage Chiefs, as dark of skin and as haughty in bearing as themselves.⁴⁴

On January 8, 1806, the Indian Chiefs accompanied by President Jefferson, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn visited the frigate Adams, "which was dressed for the occasion." The "Indians evinced little if any emotion of the spectacle or the firing" of the salutes.⁴⁵

An Indian Chief died in Washington on April 6, 1806. Under orders of the Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, a detachment of about forty Marines attended the funeral the following day. The procession moved from Morin's Tavern on Pennsylvania Avenue about four o'clock in the afternoon.⁴⁶

The Commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin Wharton, was a member of the Committee appointed to arrange for the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1806, in Washington. During the entertainment and dinner at Stelle's Hotel, pieces of music were played at intervals by the "fine band attached to the Marine Corps."⁴⁷

On July 24, 1806, Commodore Rodgers challenged Captain James Barron (who in 1820 killed Captain Stephen Decatur) to a duel, mentioning as his second Thomas Tingey, commandant Washington Navy Yard. Barron chose as his second Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin Wharton, commandant of the Marine Corps. However the wisdom of the seconds of both principals adjusted the affair without a combat.⁴⁸

During these early years which were almost filled with two wars, the Commandant was a very busy man. He was administering the recruiting service; issuing adequate orders for supplying the Marines with clothing, provisions, etc; ordering detachments to and from different places; keeping up guards on board the ships in commission, in ordinary and also the guards at the Navy Yards; superintending the drill and discipline of the Marines on shore;

convening courts-martial; seeing that all small arms, both of the Marines and Navy, were kept in good condition; the Quartermaster having the "care and superintendence of the Navy's armoury;"⁴⁹ corresponding with the Navy Department and with Marine officers and others at the different posts; through his Paymaster keeping the accounts of the Corps, all payments passing through him and he being responsible for all fiscal matters.⁵⁰ His Staff proved of great assistance to him.⁵¹

The Commandant carefully supervised the construction of the Washington Barracks⁵² and also of his own quarters that were to serve as the home of every Commandant from then until this day.⁵³ In 1805 the "mechanics, carpenters and bricklayers," who were all Marines, were constantly working on the barracks and the Commandant's House. It was hoped that "when the North Wing of the Barracks and the Commandant's House are finished," which would be "accomplished at the close of the year," the need for these workmen would cease and soldiers enlisted in their places.⁵⁴ He "never allowed to the Carpenters for their services - other Mechanics - than the Armourers - any extra pay." "Sometimes, and particularly in building" his "own quarters and Barracks at Washington, and Quarters at other Posts," they were "allowed some extra drink," but the Commandant "always viewed it optional with them to work as Mechanics or not and therefore, viewing it a matter of indulgence, being exempt from their military duty," he

"never allowed anything extra, as they were content with the additional Gill per day."⁵⁵

The suddenness of the demands for Marines to go aboard the vessels destined for foreign service made recruiting an unusually difficult problem.

Imbued with a spirit of national economy, President Jefferson would order the Corps reduced in strength. Then foreign affairs would require more ships and consequently more Marines. The vessels of a squadron ordered to the Mediterranean had to be "marined" and everybody would recruit. Men could be enlisted; but it took more than a few days to make Marines of them.

"Musics" were as difficult to secure as ever. Many were trained by the Fife and Drum Majors in Washington and sent out to the recruiting rendezvous. In November, 1802, Captain Carmick asked for permission to enlist some that "were discharged from the British." The "Music Fund" subscribed to by officers out of their personal funds to supply "bounties" for the enlistment of Musicians, was rendered unnecessary by the Act of January 25, 1805, which appropriated for "premiums for enlisting." The Act of April 21, 1806, appropriated both for instruments for the band and for "bounty to music."

Frequently an officer detailed to command a guard aboard ship would be directed to open a rendezvous and gather his own detachment together.

In February, 1804, Secretary of the Navy Smith had set

the minimum height for recruits at five feet six inches but one month later when the orders arrived to "marine" the vessels of a squadron and to send about one hundred Marines to New Orleans, the minimum height was reduced one inch. The enlistment of foreigners was again allowed the orders to recruiting officers stating that enlistments need not be "confined to nations," but to "enlist every man qualified for a soldier," regardless of his nationality. At this time even the three staff officers at Headquarters were required to do duty as officer of the day.⁵⁶

Special orders were issued prohibiting the recruiting of men while intoxicated and in any case where this was proved the man on his request was discharged.⁵⁷ The Secretary and Commandant were very careful to keep the service contented by according those, with satisfactory reasons, their releases. The Secretary wrote: "I cannot indeed see the necessity of retaining in the service in times of peace any malcontent particularly where his dissatisfaction proceeds from the distress of his family consequent upon enlistment."

In August, 1804, special recruiting efforts were directed towards supplying the gunboats with Marines and the Philadelphia rendezvous was depended upon to supply them. President Jefferson on July 28, 1806, directed Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, "to recruit the whole number of Marines allowed by law, to wit, about 1,100,

principally for the service of the gunboats." ⁵⁸ In July, 1804, "Sergeant Major Alex Forrest opened a rendezvous at Baltimore, and again in May, 1805."

Some men of course deserted and it became necessary to advertise for their apprehension. In one case forty dollars was offered for the return of a sergeant and ten dollars each for some privates. Advertisements were published in both English and German in some sections. A general standing reward of ten dollars was offered to anyone who would turn over a deserter to the Frederick, Maryland, jail.

Before recruits received their arms and accouterments they were taught the following "Principles of Military Movements:" "Position of a Soldier in Line; Dressing to the right and left; The various Facings; Standing at ease and from ease to Attention; as file singly to march forward or obliquely; To change the step at the word; To advance from the right by files; To form Sections by files marching; The different facings by the right and left Turns; Breaking off of Sections and again forming them; Forming of Sections from line by files; Forming of single file, from double, in marching; The wheeling backwards from Line on the Right or Left forward into line; The side step to the right or left; To Countermarch to the right or left; Right and left shoulders forward; To mark time; To march quick or slow time; To Halt at the word of Command; also The Salute of the Hand to an

Officer having previously faced or fronted him in passing." ⁵⁹

The Articles for the Government of the Army were read to each recruit at the time he was enlisted or within ⁶⁰ six days after he had joined.

The duties performed by Marines were as varied as they were numerous. There were other duties awaiting the Marines, than serving as an escort to the President or catering to the public pleasure through their Band. For the Commissioners of Washington City, sought to be relieved from the expense of providing watchmen to protect the public structures, and they asked the Secretary of the Navy "if two or more Marines of those stationed in the city, can be spared for that duty during the night." ⁶¹ Guards over the offices and State, War and Navy Department offices; ⁶² over the "New Bank" in Washington; ⁶³ over "some mathematical instruments" in Washington; ⁶⁴ over ships under construction; ⁶⁵ over frigates in ordinary; ⁶⁶ and over the public stores were only a few of the unusual duties.

On board ship the Marines performed sentry duty, and were relied upon for boarding, repelling boarders, landing parties and to supplement the great guns with musketry fire. ⁶⁷

A Marine frequently acted as Master at Arms. ⁶⁸ In December, 1803, a Marine was Acting Armorer for the ship New York.

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant William Ward Burrows, in December, 1803 ordered that the Commanding Officer of

the Washington Marine Barracks "take the Discipline and internal police of the Barracks," and hear and inquire "into all matters and report what he shall see fit to be laid before the Commandant; that the Morning Report be inspected by him; that he sees the parade be properly attended and that every Sunday he attend the parade himself ordering out such officers as he shall think fit; that he visit the guards every Thursday and report in writing the state he shall find them in, regulating immediately all deficiencies in his powers."

This order also provided that the Adjutant should every day after the hour of Parade, attend to the drilling of every man not actually on duty and superintend generally their arms and appearances.

The Officer-of-the-Day was placed in charge of the drills. In addition to supervising the exercise of the morning he was directed to attend particularly to the wheeling backward and forward of the men, teaching them to count their steps and halt when they are ordered, so as to have no moving after the word "halt" was given.

No officer was allowed to give up his Tour of Duty, without the consent of the Commandant, or in his absence the Captain, and no officer on duty was permitted to absent himself from his guard and on no pretence whatever be absent all night without the permission of the Commandant.

The Quartermaster was ordered to inspect, every

Monday, the troops beginning with those at the Barracks first but the men were to receive prior notice, in time to prepare themselves, so that they might plead no excuse. Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton modified these orders in several particulars on September 2nd, 1805. The status of the "Captain, or officer commanding by seniority, the barracks" was settled; the military duties of the Adjutant were outlined; the Quartermaster was given orders as to inspection of clothing the men's uniforms; and the regulations and instructions for the Officer-of-the-Day were set forth.⁶⁹ Additional orders were issued on June 24, 1806.⁷⁰

The early Marine Corps salute is described in the following order: "No soldier in future is to take off his hat to any person. When the officer to be saluted approaches him he will halt, face the officer, and bring his right hand with a quick motion as high as the hat, the palm in front; and when speaking to an officer he will stand in the same position."⁷¹

Three days later it was ordered that "all officers of whatever service, either Navy or Army, to be saluted (if known or in uniform, according to their grade) officers wearing two epauletts with presented arms, others with carried arms."⁷²

Guard duty was considered in those early days, as a very sacred part of the Marines' work. When a sentry in charge of a prisoner was relieved the Sergeant or Corporal

of the Guard showed the prisoner to the new sentry.⁷³
Strict orders prohibited a sentry from sleeping on or
quitting his post, unless relieved by his non-commissioned
officer. He must not "quit his arms or lean on the muzzle
of his musket;" he was not permitted to "sit down, sing,
whistle, smoke, or speak to anyone except in the execution
of his orders," nor was he to "go into his sentry box
either by day or night, unless it rains, snows or hails,"
and he was "never to slope his arms."⁷⁴

The countersign was not given to every sentry on
duty in the Washington Navy Yard but only to that one
charged with the protection of the stores.⁷⁵

It was "ordered that a Drummer be mounted every day
with the new guard," who was forbidden "to leave the guard
until relieved but to practice."⁷⁶

"The Officer-Commanding-the-Guard" was "to suffer no
person to come into the guard rooms except the officers or
those on duty, nor must any of his guard be absent but at
meals." It was further directed that "no noise or riot"
would be permitted near the guard room and every private
found absent from his room after tattoo would be confined.
It was directed that "the guard room and its vicinity" had
to be "delivered clean and in good order to the relieving
officer," and "any extraordinary occurrence" that may hap-
pen during the time he is on duty, was to be reported.⁷⁷

In order that "the Flag may be in due time attended
to at Retreat Beating," it was ordered that "the Sergeant

of the Guard, when the Parade is taken by the officer commanding it," have the halliards manned by any supernumeraries attending to Roll Call, not in parade," and that they immediately obey these orders.⁷⁸

Every effort was made to secure the comfort of the Marines on guard duty and accordingly sentry boxes were provided for the sentries in Washington.⁷⁹

The practice of officers on duty visiting sentries was observed in this period. The Commandant directed that officers of all grades "visit themselves, or have visited by the officer next in grade, the sentries of their guard, every half hour, to see that the orders they have received are properly and correctly executed."⁸⁰

"Troop, " that formation unique to Marines, was held every morning, and guard-mounting, parades, inspections and drills were also conducted.⁸¹

The "squad system" is an old innovation. On April 12, 1804 we read an order of the Commandant directing that "each non-commissioned officer charged with a squad" would be "held responsible for their dress and good appearance, and that the men may appear on the Parade clean, properly dressed and in uniform." A non-commissioned officer was "appointed to each room who, half an hour before the Parades is to turn the men out of their rooms, their hair dressed and powdered, their clothing and accouterments clean, and their arms in good order. The Sergeant Major is then to inspect them. He is not to

suffer a man to go on the parade who is not fit for the inspection of the Adjutant, and it is expected he will report those non-commissioned officers who are negligent in this duty. He will be held responsible for the Adjutant who is himself answerable to the Commandant for the order and good appearance of the Parade, on which no man is to be marched without a queue and the most minutest part of his uniform as agreeable to the general order."⁸²

The mess was not overlooked. In the fall of 1804 it was ordered that in the future two meals be daily provided from the collected rations for the men in barracks the first immediately after the morning parade, the second at 2:00 p.m. Half an hour for each meal is allowed. Call by beat of drum on duty will be made to collect the mess and a Sergeant will attend to superintending the men at meals to prevent improper conduct; and by receiving the key of the room to be held responsible for the furniture of the mess."⁸³

Up to October 30, 1804 wood was used in barracks for fuel and on that date it was ordered that "coals be issued to the troops instead of wood."⁸⁴

The Commandant ordered that in compliance with the 18th Section of the Articles of War the "Adjutant will cause to be read as is therein required, the Articles for the Government of the Troops."⁸⁵

A commissioned officer was required to "remain in

quarters" for the "protection of the Barracks," receipt of orders, as well as the preservation of good conduct in the men."⁸⁶ "All washing for the men" had to "be done in Barracks," and the Sergeant-Major was directed to "attend to the full execution" of the order.⁸⁷

Every effort was made to prevent men from losing their property as well as government property and orders were also issued prohibiting Marines from selling government property.⁸⁸

The pay of the men could not be checked without their consent.⁸⁹

Men were "not permitted to pass from the Barracks without non-commissioned officers and but few" were allowed "on pass at the same time," while the non-commissioned officers" were "accountable" for the "good conduct and return,"⁹⁰ of the liberty parties.

The Commandant refused to have the Marines used for unusual or private work. On March 25, 1804 he directed that "the Armorers are not to be employed by an officer on private occasion, unless an order is first obtained from the Commandant for that purpose." On the 28th of the same month he ordered "that officers do not take any of the musicians to attend on them."

While the detail of "waiters" to serve the officers was entirely legal the Commandant viewed anything but a strict adherence to the regulations on the subject with disfavor.⁹¹ On September 4, 1804 he ordered "that privates

attending on officers as waiters and who are unacquainted with the duties of their profession, be put into the drill, until reported by the Adjutant as fit for service." These waiters were ordered to attend all General Parades "without any excuse or apology." The armorers and all other mechanics attached to the barracks, on that day appeared on the Parade agreeably to an order issued May 7, 1802.⁹²

The strength of the Marine Corps depended not only upon Congress but on the President. In 1803 Congress became seriously interested in the Marine Corps and on its request on November 4th, the Secretary of the Navy informed Congress that the statutory strength of the Corps was 41 officers and 1,044 enlisted Marines. On that date however, there were only 23 officers and 501 enlisted men in the Corps, the President having set an authorized strength lower than the law actually permitted. Thirteen officers and 214 men were serving in the United States and 10 officers and 287 men in the Mediterranean. There was therefore a deficiency of 18 officers and 453 men.⁹³

At this time there were seven shore posts - Washington Barracks, Marine Barracks at the Navy Yards at Portsmouth, N.H.,⁹⁴ Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington and Norfolk. Stationed at the Washington Barracks, which was Headquarters, were 8 officers and 151 enlisted men, including staff guards for ships in ordinary, musics, armorers, artificers, servants, sick, etc.

At the Boston, Philadelphia and Norfolk Navy Yard

there were one First Lieutenant and 21 enlisted men. The Marine Barracks of the Navy Yard at Washington and Portsmouth, N.H., were empty. There were serving in the Mediterranean 10 officers and 287 enlisted men; but the expected return of the New York, Adams, and John Adams, with 5 officers and 100 enlisted men would cut this down to 5 officers and 187 enlisted men. After the return of these frigates there would be left in the Mediterranean the following vessels: Constitution, two officers and 46 Marines; Philadelphia, one officer and 41 Marines; Siren, one officer and 27 Marines; Argus, one officer and 31 Marines; Enterprise, 11 Marines; Vixen, 15 Marines; Nautilus, 16 Marines; of the 100 enlisted men returning on the three frigates it was intended to discharge 63, leaving 37. Thus there would be a total of 18 officers and 251 enlisted Marines performing duty at Headquarters located at the Washington Barracks, at the Marine Barracks of the six Navy Yards, and on board eleven ships in ordinary (each ship having one sergeant or corporal and eight Marines agreeable to the Act of March 3, 1801).⁹⁵

Navy Yard guards were maintained at Boston,⁹⁶ New York,⁹⁷ Philadelphia, Washington and Norfolk.⁹⁸ On May 21, 1802, the strength of these guards was set at one sergeant, one corporal and fifteen privates.⁹⁹ Just one year prior to this all the Marines at the Philadelphia yard were ordered to sea, the Army being ordered to re-

lieve them temporarily.¹⁰⁰ When the soldiers appeared Captain Wharton refused to "surrender the Post."¹⁰¹ Eventually a guard was formed under Captain Wharton with Marines detailed from the Philadelphia and George Washington.¹⁰²

From the earliest days the post at Philadelphia has been maintained as a supply depot.¹⁰³ In April, 1804, the Secretary of the Navy ordered that the strength of the Navy Yard guard would be one Lieutenant and 20 enlisted men.

On June 5, 1805, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, directed that guards, consisting of one lieutenant, one sergeant, two corporals, and fifteen privates, be kept up at Boston, New York and Philadelphia, "to guard the property of the Navy Department in the Navy Yards" at those places. On the same date the Secretary directed that a "small house" be built for barracks while the lieutenant could be "accommodated with a suitable room in one of the ware houses."¹⁰⁴

The strength of the detachments to "guard the public property at the Navy Yard and at the Barracks" in Washington was set by the Secretary of the Navy at fifty privates and appropriate officers and non-commissioned officers and musics. This force was in addition to the men necessary for such purposes as cleaning and repairing arms and making clothing.¹⁰⁵

The first formal "Regulations respecting Courts-Martial" appeared in "Naval Regulations, issued by command of the

President of the United States, January 25, 1802," and signed by the Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith. On October 31, 1805, the Secretary of the Navy informed the Commandant that as Commanding Officer of the Marine Corps, he possessed "without question, competent and indeed exclusive powers to convene courts-martial of every description authorized by law, for the trial of offenses committed by an officer or private belonging to the Corps under" his command. The power however of ultimately deciding in cases extending to loss of life or to the dismissal of a commissioned officer was exclusively vested by the President of the United States.¹⁰⁶ Marine officers by law were eligible to sit as members of Army courts-martial.¹⁰⁷

Every opportunity was taken advantage of to maintain discipline and the military value of the Marines at a high standard. The discipline of the Corps during this period was as usual, exceptionally good. Naturally the men committed offenses, and had to be punished. The summary court-martial and deck court had not been authorized and the punishments were either inflicted by sentence of a general court-martial, or a court-martial of the commanding officer. The general court-martial was composed of five to thirteen members.¹⁰⁸ A "court-martial" was composed of three officers, the senior being designated the "President". No recorder or prosecutor was mentioned in the precepts signed by Lieutenant-Colonels Burrows or Wharton.¹⁰⁹ Frequently it was virtually impracticable to convene a

"general court-martial" of five members and a judge advocate or a "court-martial" of three members, so the Commandant occasionally authorized what might be called a sub-legal court composed of enlisted men. To illustrate; a deserter was apprehended and delivered at the Boston Barracks. Since there was an insufficient number of officers present to form a court, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Wharton on September 2, 1804, directed Lieutenant Newton Keene to "order a sergeant and two virtuous privates, to form a court, under the usual regulations by oath, and punish him by its sentence, under your approval." On January 7, 1805 the Commandant wrote Lieutenant Edward Hall, at Philadelphia, concerning an accused: "I conceive it will be best to have him tried by the non-commissioned officers and two privates, making five in number," and "whatever the sentence may be, let it be well executed." On August 21, 1806, he wrote to Lieutenant John Johnson concerning "the trial of a prisoner by a company court-martial, formed from a sergeant or corporal with two privates, sworn as usual, with its sentence submitted for your approval."

The usual punishment awarded by commanding officers or adjudged by courts-martial was flogging. The Act of March 2, 1799, limited the punishment awarded by a commanding officer to twelve lashes with a cat-of-nine-tails. A "court-martial" was authorized to adjudge heavier punishment. The Act of April 23, 1800 (effective June 1, 1800) authorized one hundred lashes. The lashes were laid on to the tap of

of the drum. Other sentences involved reduction in rating, shaving one half of head and drumming out, loss of pay, confinement, hard labor, ball and chain, and ordering an accused to wear a "white cap with a label."¹¹⁰

The attachment of a ball and chain, or chain and clogs while in confinement, was forbidden except in the cases of men whose sentences terminated in dismissal from the Corps when Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin Wharton, as Commandant, issued the following order; on February 7, 1806: "The Commandant, unwilling that the character of a Soldier who is to return to his duty after punishment, should have been tarnished by the wearing of Chains or Fetters during Servitude Orders that part of the sentence to be remitted which was to place on them ignominious marks, unworthy of those engaged in the honorable pursuit of Fame: Chains and Clogs."¹¹¹

That ancient foe of military discipline, Demon Rum, is the theme of many entries in the Order Book of the Corps. These orders not only reflect the customs of the early eighteenth century, but the bulk of them also show a surprising tendency at that time to place liquor under a heavy ban of disapproval. The historians of that period give weighty emphasis to the prevalence of drink in all circles of society. Grog was a recognized part of the service ration. The gentlemen of those days waged memorable battles over their toddies and port, and the total abstainer was a lonely figure.¹¹²

The Marines had spent the winter of 1800-1801 in barracks but went into camp again the following summer. Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Burrows had the same difficulty experienced ever since at military posts, for in the proceedings of the commissioners of August 20, 1801, a complaint from Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Burrows was recorded about Charles Purdy selling liquor to the soldiers, "thereby occasioning great disturbance in the camp in this city."¹¹³

One court sentenced two Marines "to wear the Drunkard's Dress, the former for one week and the latter for a fortnight." Their specific offense, committed on New Year's Day of 1805, was in being drunk and absent from quarters at Tattoo.¹¹²

The stand taken against the prevalence of drinking in the service by Colonel Wharton, soon after his elevation to the commandancy, is all the more memorable because of the wide toleration with which it was regarded. His first broadside was delivered on April 28, 1805, in the following order:¹¹² "The introduction of Rum to the Troops within the Barracks, directly or indirectly, being productive of serious consequences, by bringing on them Public Disgrace. It is ordered that any Soldier in future who may be found on the Fence of the S. E. corner of the Garrison, or holding conversation with or receiving from the Citizens, supplies of any kind except in the presence of a N. C. O. will be immediately punished."¹¹²

He tackled the problem fearlessly a second time, after the rum ration had been increased by official orders, in this order: "As the late Increase of Rum to the Rations has greatly tended to the increase of Intoxication, among the troops of the Garrison, it is ordered, that in future one half of the Rum allowance per day be issued in the Morning, the other half reserved for Dinner, which is to be placed under the charge of the Sergeant having for the day charge of the Mess Rooms. This is to be mixed in three waters and to be issued in an equal proportion to each and every man belonging to the general Mess, to which it has only reference."¹¹²

Later, in 1806, two men caught scaling the pickets were punished by the Commandant by a stoppage of their rum ration.¹¹²

Where naval surgeons were not present to furnish the Marines with medical services a contract was made with a civilian.¹¹⁴

Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith on March 1, 1805, directed the Commandant to send an officer to Harper's Ferry to look at some "tower proof muskets." The Army were willing to exchange 500 of these muskets for those in possession of the Marines. Early in April, 1805, First Lieutenant John R. Fenwick the Adjutant of the Corps, arrived, via stage, at Harper's Ferry, Va., to look over about six or seven hundred stand of nearly new British muskets. He wrote to the Commandant on April 8th

that they were "best muskets for Marines" he had ever seen. They were "short and therefore more convenient." The barrels were three feet three inches and the bayonet eighteen inches long. These muskets were conveyed to Washington by boat down the Potomac.¹¹⁵

Congressional appropriations was a matter that took up a considerable part of the time of the Commandants. Separate appropriations in the Marine Corps were made annually as part of the Act appropriating for the entire Navy. They were based upon estimates submitted to Congress by the Commandant through the Secretary of the Navy.¹¹⁶

In 1801, the question as to whether a commanding officer of a ship could change a Marine to a Bluejacket without further authority was placed before the Secretary of the Navy by the Commandant. On June 28th, the Secretary replied that "where a man has been regularly enlisted mustered, and clothed, he cannot be discharged from the Corps to which he belongs except by the sentence of a court-martial or by the authority of the Executive."¹¹⁷ On the same day the Secretary wrote to Captain Silas Talbot, U. S. Navy, "that no officer on reflection could hesitate in determining that no such transfer," of Marines to seamen, "could with propriety be made, but by the authority of the head of the department."¹¹⁸

Any doubts and misunderstandings about the status and duties of Marines serving at sea, seemed to be settled on August 19, 1801, when Secretary of the Navy Smith issued

circular instructions reading in part: "The Captain and other officers of the ship will consider the Marines as deserving objects of their regard and attention, as the seamen; and they will not wantonly subject either the one, or the other Corps, to duties which do not regularly appertain to their respective departments. Seamen are not to be ordered to the duties of sentinels or to perform any of the other appropriate duties of the Marine Corps, and the Marines are not to be ordered to go aloft, or to perform any other act of mere seamanship."¹¹⁹

Despite the uncertainty of status regarding the Marines the relations between them and the Navy were cordial. On February 16, 1802 the Secretary of the Navy admonished a midshipman who beat a private of Marines, in these words: "You have violated the Law of the Government of the Navy as well as the Law of Humanity," but in view of the midshipman's "youth and inexperience" it being his first offense, the Secretary did not "order a court-martial" upon him.¹²⁰

Naval Regulations, issued by command of the President January 25, 1802 show how the Marines aboard ship were almost part of the crew. They are mentioned only once and then only incidentally.

The puzzling question as to the exact jurisdictional status of the Marines when serving ashore remained unanswered and indeed was not settled until 1834. This question arising at New Orleans brought forth an agreement between

the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of the Navy¹²¹
that "officers shall rank agreeably to date of commission."

Efforts were made to do away with the Navy Department itself during this period. In 1805 John Randolph said that he should not "be surprised to see the Navy Department abolished, or, in more appropriate phrase, swept by the board, at the next session of Congress."¹²²

During the period 1801 to 1806, the uniform, with a few changes, continued as before.¹²³

The first efforts to have the Marines manufacture their own clothing occurred during this month. Colonel Wharton requested permission of the Secretary of the Navy, on March 27, 1804, to "enlist a person qualified to take charge of a number of tailors who enlisted may make the following articles:" best woolen coats and woolen pantaloons, socks, and the fatigue dress. The Commandant explained that the man would have the rank of sergeant and the scheme would result in economy, as well as uniformity in appearance of the men. It was proposed to pay this superintendent of tailors or "tailor-sergeant" \$11.00 additional which would make his monthly stipend \$20.00. The contracts already made prevented the scheme going into operation for several months, although a desirable tailor reported to the Commandant in April. The Secretary of the Navy approved the idea of "an establishment in barracks for the making and mending of the Marine Clothing," on August 20, 1804.¹²³

A trial of a "belt with the use of whiting" was made in November, 1804. Twenty layers of whiting were used but they did not hide the oil in the leather. The white belt was finally adopted after the contractor supplied belts that could be properly whitened. Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting the uniforms out to the Mediterranean. Frequently the stores were sent out in merchantmen and in some cases these vessels were captured by privateers. The white belts for the Marines on the Enterprise were received safely; but for some reason the belts for the Marines of the other vessels were not. When the Marines of the Squadron appeared in parade ashore under Captain Anthony Gale, Commodore Rodgers, who did not know of the adoption of the white belt, commented on the fact that the Marines of the Enterprise were out of uniform. Of course Captain Gale explained that it was only the non-arrival of all the belts that prevented all of the Marines of the squadron to parade with them.¹²³

Up to October 14, 1805, no compilation of uniform regulations had been issued. On this date Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith forwarded to Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Wharton an order describing the uniform of the Marine Corps more particularly than it had heretofore been described.¹²⁴

The Commandant was interested in giving the tailors employed at the barracks every opportunity to do good work. On June 12, 1805, he ordered "that the Tailors employed at

the Public Work may not suppose the duty severe, it is ordered that those now working in the shop, or those who may be desirous of employment there, shall by steady attention during the rest of the week, have the Saturday for themselves.¹²⁴

Contracts for rations were arranged at various prices.¹²⁵ From fifteen to seventeen cents was about the cost. In September, 1801, proposals were accepted for rations for the following year at $16\frac{1}{2}$ cents a ration. Frequently rations were awarded the onlisted men's wives who performed services such as laundry work, etc., for the Marines. On April 14, 1804, the wife of the armorer in Philadelphia, was given a ration.¹²⁶

NOTES.
CHAPTER XVI

1. Colman, 75 Years of White House Gossip, 71.
2. Singleton, Story of the White House, I, 25.
3. See in this connection Nat. Intell., March 6, 1801; Singleton, Story of the White House, I, 28-29.
4. Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1289.
5. Nat. Intell., June 29; July 6, 1801; Museum and Wash. and Geo. Ad., July 10, 1801; Gaillard Hunt, First Forty Years of Washington Society, 30-31, 383-399; D.A.R. Mag., March, 1925, 155-159; Margaret Bayard Smith, A Winter in Washington, or Memoirs Seymour Family, II, 257-259.
6. The Month of August, 1804, saw the establishment of the Royal Marine Artillery of Great Britain. (Clowes, Royal Navy, XXXVI). It was organized because of the difficulty of getting the "Naval and Military officers to work well together during the embarkation of the latter," and the "suggestion to create an Artillery Force exclusively under the Admiralty came from Lord Nelson." (Field, Britain's Sea Soldiers, I, 262); for details of Nelson's ideas on this subject, See Southey, Lord Nelson, 277; Nicolas, Despatches and Letters of Nelson, VI, 22, 23, 24, 33, 34, 35, 83); in this connection it is well to know that Nelson was given the honorary rank of Colonel of Marines - a sinecure appointment of which there were then four, given to post captains of distinguished services, and vacated by them upon promotion. These are now discontinued. When Nelson heard of this appointment, he said: "The Marines have been given to me in the handsomest manner. The answer given to many was, the king knew no officer who had served so much for them as myself." (Mahan, Life of Nelson, I, 177).
7. "The Corps was armed originally with two heavy iron cannon, probably eighteen-pounders, which were drawn by horses. The men marched on either side and carried heavy, short swords. Subsequently the iron guns were replaced with brass field pieces; but in other respects their armament and drill were not materially changed until after the DORR WAR, in which little unpleasantness the command took an active and prominent part in behalf of the law and order party. To the

7. (Continued)

Chepachet expedition it contributed eighty-nine muskets and two field pieces, with the requisite number of bombardiers, besides its quota of officers. On the 4th of July, 1842, it paraded with muskets and was equipped in scarlet caps, trimmed with brass, black fountain plumes with scarlet tips, blue coats trimmed with scarlet, scarlet epaulettes, white pantaloons, black belts and cartridge boxes." This historic organization "had its origin in the Providence Marine Society. Hence all its officers and most of the men were at first members of that society - practical seamen." Its charter authorized the election of a Lieutenant-Colonel, two majors, one captain and two lieutenants. The charter was twice amended by the legislature, in 1830 to allow two of the officers to be chosen from persons outside the Marine Society, and in May, 1842, removing all restrictions, thereby dissolving all connection with that society save in sentiment and history. In 1843 these Marines accepted the provisions of a militia law and a regiment was formed with proper officers. This continued until the repeal of the law in 1862 when the Corps revived the provisions of its charter. This organization justly claims the proud title of "Mother of Batteries." It was instrumental in the organization of the earliest artillery of Massachusetts and from these gradually sprang all others, (asides from the regulars) since organized east of the Rockies. During the ten years succeeding the Civil War the Marine Artillery maintained its independent existence and received orders from the Governor alone. On April 19, 1875 it came under the state militia law. It is now represented in the line by Battery A, Rhode Island militia, all of whose officers and most of whose men are members of the Marine Artillery. The Veteran Association of the Providence Marine Corps of Artillery was organized on January 21, 1875. (Greene, the Providence Plantations for 250 Years, 180-181; See also Harper, Encyc. U.S. Hist., X, 144; Perry, Statue at Cleveland).

8. Nat. Intell., July 7, 1802.
9. Nat. Intell., December 3, 1802.
10. Marine Corps Archives.
11. Local newspapers.
12. Nat. Intell., January 4, 1804.

13. On April 26, 1756 Thomas Wharton wrote to Benjamin Franklin announcing the birth of a son whom they have taken the liberty to name Franklin Wharton and Thomas hoped that this proof of their regard for him (Franklin) would not be disagreeable to him. (Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Amer. Philo. Soc., Philadelphia, II, 16 and Calendar of Papers, I, 57); his brother was Robert Wharton, Mayor of Philadelphia for a long period. Franklin Wharton was born in Philadelphia on July 23, 1767. He was appointed an officer in the Marine Corps with rank as Captain on August 3, 1798. He was married at Christ Church, Philadelphia, on October 1, 1800 to Mary Clifton. During the Naval War with France he served on the frigate United States until August 31, 1800 when he reported for duty at Philadelphia. He died in New York September 1, 1818 and is buried in Church yard of Old Trinity. Mrs. Wharton died in Washington on August 31, 1813. Franklin Wharton had 8 children: Clifton, b. October 22, 1801; m. Oliveretta Ormsby; George Washington, b. May 12, 1803; m. Emmeline D. Stout; Franklin, b. June 3, 1804; m. 1st, Baylor; 2dly, Walker, 3dly, Octavie Coycault; William Lewis, b. December 17, 1805; m. Ellen J. Brearley; Ellen Clifton, b. May 18, 1807; d. January 7, 1808; Anna Maria, b. 1808; d. August 22, 1809; Alfred, b. June 1, 1810; m. Adelaide C. Passage; Henry Williams, b. September 27, 1811; m. Ellen G. Nugent.
14. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 72.
15. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 77.
16. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 111.
17. Marine Corps Archives.
18. See 15th Report D.A.R., 1911-12, 60; Records of the Columbia Hist. Soc., XXI, 136; Colonel Burrows left behind him two daughters and one son. William Burrows, his son, was killed in action during the War of 1812 while commanding the U.S.S. Enterprise in an engagement with the Boxer. Sarah Burrows, the older daughter, was married to General James Thompson, of Washington, on May 31, 1803. They had one daughter, Mary Cecilia (born February 25, 1804; died April 27, 1835, in Mexico City), who, on April 22, 1823, was married to Michell Hersant. Mrs. Thompson died March 31, 1848, and General Thompson on October 16, 1856. Francis Harriet Burrows, the younger daughter was married to John Nelson, Attorney General of the United States in President Tyler's Cabinet, on November 18, 1816. She left a daughter,

18. (Continued)

Mary S. Nelson, who, on April 20, 1837 married Alexander Neill. Dr. William Neill, the son of this union; is living today at Charles Town, Jefferson County, W. Va. (D.A.R. Mag., No. 3, March, 1925; 159). The Daily National Intelligencer of March 15, 1805, published the following: Departed this life on the 6th instant, in the 47th year of his age, Colonel W. W. BURROWS, a Revolutionary officer, and late Commandant of the Marine Corps. The most benevolent of men, he had devoted himself to the benefit of his fellow creatures; but that malignant fiend ingratitude was ever his reward. After struggling with severe illness and too feeling a heart, he resigned existence with the celestial calmness of a good man.

Think of his fate! revere the heavenly hand,
That led him hence, though soon, by steps
so slow,
Long at his couch, death took his patient
stand.
And menaced oft, and oft withheld the blow.
To give reflection time, with lenient art;
Each fond delusion from his soul to steal,
Teach him, from folly peaceably to part,
and wean him from a world he lov'd too well.

The records of the Office of the Arlington Cemetery contain the following information:

WILLIAM WARD BURROWS
Interred, May 12, 1892
Died: March 6, 1805
Age: 47 Years.

Transferred from the Presbyterian Cemetery, Georgetown. His grave is 301-B, Division, Western. It is marked by a modest stone slab, lying flat on the ground, on which is inscribed the following:

IM MEMORY OF WILLIAM WARD BURROWS,
Late Lieut.Col. Commandant
of the U.S. Marine Corps;
who died 6th March, 1805,
Aged 47 Years.

His death (and such oh render with thy own)
Was free from terror and without a groan
His spirit to himself the Almighty drew
Mild as his Sun exhales the ascending dew.

19. Nat. Intell., Washington, D.C., August 7, 10, and 12, 1801; St. John, Hayti, or the Black Republic; The Reverend Frank DeWitt Talmage is quoted as having credited the great success of Toussaint L'Ouverture with causing Napoleon Bonaparte with selling Louisiana to the United States.
20. Histories of Haiti.
21. See St. John, Hayti or the Black Republic, 76, et seq.; Janson, Stranger in America, 31, in commenting upon sale of Louisiana by Napoleon to U.S. states that he "should not be surprized to hear that he had disposed of his imperial island of Hayti, as another good bargain to these complaisant republicans."
22. The United States did not officially recognize the Republic of Haiti as a sovereign state until 1861. The Act of June 5, 1862, provided that the President of the United States was authorized by and with the advice and consent of the Senate "to appoint diplomatic representatives of the United States to the Republic of Hayti and Liberia," accredited "as commissioner and consul-general." In July, 1862, Benjamin F. Whidden was appointed commissioner and consul-general to the Republic of Haiti. Ernest Roumain, appointed March 3, 1863, was the first Haitian diplomatic representative to the United States in the official capacity of Charge d'Affaires. Long before this, however, we sent consuls and other representatives to Haiti. (Marine Corps Gazette, March, 1924, 69). For early history of Haiti See Bryan Edwards, Hist., West Indies; Rainsford, Empire of Hayti.
23. The trade between the United States and Haiti was very valuable to the United States. In the winter of 1804-05 a flotilla of armed merchant vessels sailed from New York with cargoes partly contraband of war. On the return of the flotilla to New York the event was celebrated with a public dinner and all present drank a health to the government of Haiti. France wanted this trade stopped and a bill passed Congress by only one vote that authorized only unarmed commerce.
24. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 267-271.
25. An order of December 24, 1805, of Secretary of the Navy Smith to the Commandant, directed "the Guard of Marines at the residence of Tunisian Ambassador is no longer necessary.. You will be pleased to have them removed."; Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 22-23;

25. (Continued)

Sergeant Dodge received the following order on December 3, 1805: "You will immediately march your Guard to the Quarters of the Tunisian Ambassador, halting them, you will place sentinels before and in the rear of them so as to prevent intrusion of people so disposed; you will not permit persons to enter his quarters, unless there carried by business; the curiosity of none can be satisfied, wishing to pass your sentinels, from that motive, you will order present of arms to the ambassador whenever he pass to or from his quarters at 10 O'clock P.M., you will relieve and march your guard back to the Barracks and report your return to the Commanding Officer."

26. Allen, Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, 272; St. Pap., v, 452; For Rel. ii, 799; Rep. Sen. Com. viii, 20; Navy Let. Bk., 1799-1807, 170-174; 177-180; Nicolay, Our Capital on the Potomac, 90-93; Greenhow, Hist. of Tripoli, 34; Janson, the Stranger in America, 216-220; Sparks, Amer. Biog., II, 134-135; Margaret Bayard Smith, A winter in Washington, I, 243; See also Nat. Intell., September 15, 26, 1806, March 20 and May 27, 1807; Smith, First Forty Years of Washington Society, 400-404; Navy Archives.

27. Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1303-1305, citing Amer. St. Pap., Nav. Aff., I, 163; See also Harper, Encyc. U.S. Hist., IV, 187-188; Frost, Book of the Navy, 121-123; Memoir, Porter, 73-75; Ch. XV and notes on that Chapter.

28. Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 4.

29. On April 17, 1805 the Commandant issued orders to Corporal John Shields to join Gunboat No. 10, and Corporal Thomas McCann to Gunboat No. 3. On the same date Sergeant James McKim was directed to take a detachment to New York to provide guards for Gunboats Nos. 6 and 7. Corporal Baird was slated for Gunboat No. 6. Corporal Gordon for No. 7. Corporal Edward Rodgers was placed in charge of the Guard of Gunboat No. 5, at Baltimore on April 19, 1805. Corporal Frederick Winner was given the guard of Gunboat No. 10, on April 30, 1805. On April 10, 1805, the Commandant wrote Lieutenant Edward Hall at New York, that the Marines had "no great attachment to these boats." Privates Josiah Beatty and Joshua Clark were lost in Gunboat 7 about 1805. (Size Rolls).

30. On March 28, 1805 the commanding officer of Gunboat No. 1, reported that his vessel "could not be considered a safe vessel to cross the Atlantic Ocean." (Navy Let.

30. (Continued)

Bk., I, 139). On April 17, 1805 Secretary of the Navy issued orders for Gunboats Nos. 2 and 9 to proceed from Charleston, S.C., to Gibraltar together with another gunboat, to participate in the Tripolitan War. (Navy Let. Bk., Off. Com. Gunboats, I, 148-149).

31. Nat. Intell., September 25, 1805.

32. Nat. Intell., November 2, 1805.

33. Marine Corps Archives.

34. Mr. Thomas Triplett of Alexandria, Va., on December 30, 1803, wrote to the Commandant and offered "thanks for the favor conferred by the loan of your musicians. I regret the trouble I have imposed on you. We had calculated upon paying the Band their expenses in addition to the customary price given them, but as their demand of \$50 dollars was conceived to be extravagant I thought best to write Capt. C. on the subject. He has informed me that the price of the Hack was \$5. I have therefor inclosed to you \$20 which in addition to ten advanced them besides expenses, leaves \$25 to be distributed as you may think proper."

35. "For the preservation of the Band and to insure a due attention to the instruments as well as regular practice on them by the performers," Commandant Wharton directed the Adjutant on August 6, 1804, "to take it under his charge," and to fix "such hours for rehearsal and select such pieces for its improvements as he may deem proper." A "Committee from the different Masonic Lodges" in Washington, on December 11, 1806, "was authorized to solicit from" Colonel Wharton, "the liberty of the Band" under his command, "to attend the Celebration of the ensuing Festival of St. John," "or such a number of them as" he "may judge proper." On the day after Christmas, 1806, Captain Anthony Gale wrote Colonel Wharton from Philadelphia that he had purchased and forwarded the best collection of sacred music, that could be found in the City" and strings "for the violincello." Captain Gale informed the Commandant that "fifty of the Elders of the different churches" in Philadelphia were busy selecting "a collection of the best hymns, anthems, etc., that can be found in the country," which would be printed and form "the best work of the kind that ever was in the United States." This sacred music was very necessary as the Band frequently played in the churches - especially Old Christ Church on G Street between Sixth and Seventh Streets Southeast, popularly known as the "Marine Church." It also played at religious services held on Sundays in the Halls of Congress.

36. Colman, 75 Years of White House Gossip, 81-82; See also Margaret Bayard Smith, A Winter in Washington, I, 62-65.
37. Cutler and Cutler, Life of Manasseh Cutler, II, 183.
38. Farr died on November 22, 1804 and on the 24th of the same month Ashworth was appointed as his successor. Ashworth had enlisted, as a drummer, on December 13, 1802, on which date he was twenty-five years of age. The new leader brought to the Band a thorough knowledge of music and a type of leadership that held the band at a high level of musical accomplishment.
39. Gaetano Caruso; Samuel Caruso; Ignazio Caruso; Dominico Guarnacias; Venerando Polizzi; Michael Sardo; Francisco Polizzi; Joseph Papa; Salvadonia Sauria; Pasquale Sauria; Giacomina Sando; Ignazio DeMauro; Antonio Paterno; Felizzi Polizzi; Gaetano Sarde; Corano Signouille. (Size Roll dated May 10, 1805 at Syracuse and signed by John Hall, Capt. Marines in Marine Corps Archives).
40. For published information concerning Marine Band See Nav. Inst. Proc., April, 1923, 581-586; D.A.R. Mag., March, 1925, 155-159; Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Reorg. Band, March 4, 1924, Program; Wash. Star, April 5, 1925 (Haskins); Congressional Record, January 10, 1925, 1713-1715. For desire of Thomas Jefferson to import band French musicians See letter of Jefferson, at Williamsburg, Va., June 8, 1778. (Writings, Jefferson, IV, 40-42); wrong origin of band in D.A.R. Mag., September, 1919, 542-547.
41. Navy Let. Bk., 169.
42. See Navy Let. Bk. Mar. Off., I, 39.
43. Navy Let. Bk. Mar. Off., I, 26-27; Secretary of the Navy Smith to Wharton, May 15, 1806.
44. Nicolay, Our Capital on the Potomac, 90-93; Janson, The Stranger in America, 220-222.
45. Nat. Intell., January 10, 1806.
46. Navy Let. Bk. No. 1, Officers of Marine Corps, 23.
47. Nat. Intell., June 27, July 7, 1806.
48. Paullin, Commodore John Rodgers, 174-183; On September 12, 1806, Captain Tingey wrote John Rodgers that on September 7th Colonel Wharton wrote him that Captain

48. (Continued)

Barron requested him to let Tingey know that he was in Washington. Tingey let Wharton know of Rodger's ideas about a settlement of the differences, etc., (John Rodger's Letters).

49. Through his Quartermaster, the Commandant was in charge of the Navy Armory and armorers. On March 26, 1803 Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith ordered Captain Tingey, Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard to deliver to Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Burrows all Navy Department "Small arms" (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VI, 173); and on the same date the Secretary also informed Colonel Burrows of his new responsibility. (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VI, 112). The Quartermaster of the Marines eventually allowed \$150.00 annually for this work. (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 426).

50. St. Pap. Nav. Aff., I, 110; Navy Letters to Congress, I, 126; Let. Sec. Navy Smith to Congress, February 14, 1803; Letter of Rankin, April 10, 1805.

51. Captain George Memminger was the first Adjutant, First Lieut. Robert Rankin was relieved as Adjutant on January 1, 1804, by First Lieut. John R. Fenwick, who served until June 12, 1805. First Lieut. Robert Rankin, the Quartermaster, acted as Adjutant from June 12 to September 1, 1805, when he was relieved of his duties as Adjutant by First Lieut. Michael Reynolds. Lieutenant Reynolds resigned as Adjutant on May 31, 1806, but continued to act as Adjutant until July 1, 1806, when he was actually relieved by First Lieut. John R. Fenwick, who served until January 1, 1809, when he was relieved by First Lieut. John Johnson. On February 1, 1809, First Lieut. Archibald Henderson relieved the late Lieutenant John Johnson as Adjutant. First Lieut. Michael Reynolds was relieved as Quartermaster on January 1, 1804, when he was succeeded by First Lieut. Robert Rankin who served until November 10, 1806, being relieved on that date by First Lieut. Thomas W. Hooper. Lieutenant Hooper served as Quartermaster until March 1, 1807, when he was succeeded by First Lieut. John Williams. On April 10, 1805 Quartermaster Robert Rankin wrote to Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith that "in addition to my duties in the Marine Corps, I have the care and superintendence of the Navy Armory; the arms accoutrements, etc. I have to receive and be responsible for; frequently to inspect them and see that they are kept clean and free from injury and to deliver them out when wanted. I have likewise to purchase all the necessary articles

51. (Continued)

for the armorers, which, of course, attaches to it a general care and attendance on that establishment. The discharge of this duty requires much care, labor, and responsibility." Lieut. Rankin not only "attended to the Quartermaster's Department but did constant duty in the line which was unusually severe, from the number of new recruits and the small number of officers then at Barracks." As a result of this letter and a letter of Lieut. Col. Wharton to the Secretary dated May 26, 1805, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, on June 29, 1805, decided to "allow to the gentleman who has the care of the arms of the Navy at this place, the sum of \$150.00 per annum payable quarterly at this Department." (Navy Let. Bk. Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 426). First Lieut. James Thompson, who was the first Paymaster appointed, was succeeded by First Lieut. Robert Greenleaf, who relieved him on December 16, 1806.

52. The Act of January 31, 1804, appropriated \$3,584.72 for completing the Marine Barracks, at Washington, D.C. The Act of April 21, 1806, also appropriated the sum of \$3,500 "for completing the Marine Barracks at the City of Washington."
53. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., V, 213; On June 6, 1804, the Secretary of the Navy in a letter to Captain John Cassin at the Navy Yard, Washington, D.C., stated: "Colonel Wharton will require for the house building under his direction for the Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Marine Corps certain articles of iron Mougrey," and directed that they be delivered.
54. Let. Wharton, June 3, 1805.
55. Let. Wharton, February 10, 1813.
56. M. C. Archives; Order Book, April 10, 1804; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 112, Wharton to Smith, April 7, 1804 and Smith to Wharton, April 9, 1804; Marine Corps Order Book.
57. Secretary Smith to Burrows, April 25, 1803, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VI, 226.
58. Writings of Jefferson, I, 476.
59. Order Book of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Wharton, August 31, 1805.
60. Order Book, December 31, 1806.

61. Commrs. Let. Bk.; July 31, 1800; Bryan, A Hist. of the Nat. Capital, I, 1790-1814, 370-373.
62. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 332.
63. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., V, 147.
64. Marine Corps Archives.
65. On May 15, 1805 was ordered by Commandant to hike to Baltimore with nine Marines to guard a brig of the United States being built. (Marine Corps Archives); Let. May 16, 1805, Wharton to Striker, Marine Corps Archives; Secretary of Navy to Striker, May 15, 1805, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VI, 437.
66. Secretary of the Navy to Burrows, June 3, 1801, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 381; The Seamen and Marines on duty guarding the "ships laid up in the Eastern Branch" by their actions brought forth a protest from one James Barry. They resorted "to a pump" which Mr. Barry had "erected for the use of his family and neighbors", and the seamen and Marines caused great inconvenience. (Navy Gen. Let. Bk., V, August 18, 1802).
67. On board the Constitution in July, 1803, there were two officers and 52 men. They supplied 5 posts. Captain's orderly "spirit room," and three outside. (Log Bk. of Constitution, Man. Div. L of C).
68. Master Roll of Constitution, April, 1804.
69. "The following orders are issued for the future Government of officers stationed at Headquarters, and are to be received in lieu of those given under the 7th of December, 1803: ORDERED. That the Captain, or officer commanding by seniority the Barracks, will investigate and order rectified all acts of improprieties therein committed which may require prompt and immediate decision and which do not appear to him serious by their consequences for the further investigation of the Commandant. The Police of the Garrison are under his charge; he will grant the usual temporary passes to the Troops, which are to be considered only between Reveille-beat and that of Tattoo; the right of furlough alone reserved for the Commandant; the Parades always attended by the officer of the Day, whenever those Parades amount to, or exceed a subaltern's command, to consist of the present Navy Yard Guard Establishment, say 15 privates, this the Commanding Officer will strictly enforce whenever a sufficient number of officers, Staff excepted, are

69. (Continued.)

within the Garrison to alternate the duty. He will examine the officers morning report book to ascertain its correctness. On each Sunday he will take the morning parade which will be viewed a general one, as every soldier exempted during the week by daily duty, will at that time appear under arms. He will at that Parade, order such officers of the line to attend him on duty, as he may judge proper, the waiters of those officers will at the same time be required. He will not permit officers at any time to serve as such, unless in full uniform, and accoutred as required in orders given by the Secretary of the Navy under the 25th of March, 1804. Obedience to orders in soldiers cannot be impaired or relaxed by a want of it in officers - they can only then be permitted to serve as officers (who in appearance can be recognized as such on duty). The Adjutant will inspect the morning report of the Sergeant-Major and view him under his command. He will order troop, Retreat and Tattoo to be beaten in conformity to the hour previously fixed and ordered by the Commandant without reference to any officer - in the absence of the Adjutant, the officer of the day will attend to the execution of the above duties. He will inspect the arms and accoutrements of all guards as well as detachments paraded for service in the garrison under marching order. He will keep such books as are necessary to show a detail of the duties, and distribution of all the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates belonging to the Corps, with such other books as to him may appear essential. He will attend to the instruction of the men at drill, agreeably to an order of the 31st Ultimo that knowledge acquired by his recruits, he will procure for them arms and accoutrements, and proceed to have them taught the manual exercise with field maneuvers. He will appoint and fix on such hours for the drill of those under his charge, so as at no time to interfere with any regulation of the Garrison. He will on each Monday morning when the Inspection of clothing is made by the Quartermaster; also attend the Parade and inspect the state of the arms and accoutrements. He will when required furnish from his books a muster roll or other necessary information for the Paymaster, to enable him to make a settlement of his accounts at the office of the accountant. From 9 to 10 a.m., each day the Orderly Hours, he will such reports make to the Commandant at the usual office as may belong to his Department at which time he will be furnished with the countersign for the night and orders should any be prepared for the same. The Quartermaster in keeping such books as he may deem most necessary, for his Department will attend on every Monday morning to the inspection of the public

69. (Continued)

clothing issued to each soldier, ascertaining the cause of loss, or increase (if any) in the article, or articles of such clothing belonging to the person on whom the same may be found, reporting any alteration he may discover to the Commandant. The Officer of the Day will from the morning parade be viewed on duty till the morning parade of the ensuing day, at that time his tour of duty will cease by the officer relieving him. He will during that time on no account absent himself from the garrison, or give up his tour of duty, unless by permission of the Commandant, or in his absence that of the commanding officer. He will attend to the execution of all orders issued for the internal police of the garrison by frequent visits through it during the day, and until the beat of Tattoo. He will also execute the duties of an officer of police by seeing that the cooks attend properly to the dressing of the rations for the general mess, so as to prevent inattention or fraud. He will see that the mess-room and mess furniture are taken care of and properly cleaned as occasion may require. He will examine the rooms of the men and see that they are swept out in due time and that the bedding is either aired or folded up. He will visit the place of confinement and see that no provisions or liquor are there carried, unless those allowed to soldiers under such circumstances. He will occasionally examine the Sergeant or Corporal having charge of prisoners at labor and know if they attend to their duty, charged as they may be with the execution of justice under various sentences."

70. The Commandant on June 24, 1806 issued the following order: "In addition to duties expected by orders under September the 2nd, 1805, from the Captain or officer commanding by seniority the Barracks. It is here ordered, that the Captain or officer by seniority commanding the barracks, will take the Morning Parades of each day and see that the Guard is marched off. He will countersign the Morning Report of the officer of the day, in order to fully make its accuracy, as he is supposed to have a perfect knowledge of what has occurred within the Garrison during the time for which the Report had been made out, to insure this correct, he will write /Examined/ to his signature. The Police of the Garrison under his charge, a thorough acquaintance with all orders, regulating it must be necessary to render it useful, he will therefore frequently visit the different apartments to ascertain how orders are executed or otherwise and by weekly report state the result of such visits. He will once during each week,

70. (Continued)
also visit the Navy Yard Guards and in the weekly report state its situation."
71. Order Book, March 26, 1804.
72. Order Book, March 26, 1804.
73. Order Book, August 28, 1803.
74. Order Book, March 26, 1804.
75. Order Book, January 29, 1804.
76. Order Book, September, 1804.
77. Order Book, November 12, 1804; See also Officer of the Day's Report Book, Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, Washington, D.C., October 3, 1803 to December 31, 1804, in Marine Corps Archives.
78. Order Book, June 29, 1805.
79. Marine Corps Archives, Wharton to Tingey, January 18, 1805.
80. Order Book, November 21, 1804.
81. On October 31, 1803, the Commandant "ordered that in future the Troop beat at nine o'clock in the morning and the Tattoo at eight in the evening." On March 31, 1804 Troop was ordered for 8 O'clock and Tattoo at 9 O'clock.
82. Order Book, April 12, 1804.
83. Order Book, October 31, 1804.
84. Coal was furnished weekly by the Quartermaster Sergeant. Three bushels per month for each soldier, thirty bushels per month for each room containing twenty men, which was the normal number quartered in each room. When a Marine entered the hospital the Quartermaster Sergeant arranged to have his coal allowance transferred to the hospital. The hospital, guard room, and kitchen were supplied from the "extra coals due the rooms." (Order Book, October 30, 1804).
85. Order Book, March 31, 1804.
86. Order Book, December 7, 1804.

87. Order Book, March 26, 1804.
88. It was ordered "for the better regulation of the barracks discipline and subordination of the men and to detect fraud and imposition by selling the public property" order previously issued to be strictly attended to. (Order Book, December 7, 1803, March 26, 1804).
89. "I can make no stoppage, or order one made, without his consent." (Wharton to Keene, January 15, 1805).
90. Order Book, April 3, 1804.
91. Statutes and regulations governing the Army applied to Marine Corps on this subject; Act of July 6, 1812 referred to "waiters" and Regulations of the War Department, 1812 provided rules also. Act of March 16, 1802 allowed one ration additional to every officer who should keep a servant; not a soldier of the line. The Act of March 30, 1814 legislated on subject of waiters. Lieut. Newton Keene requested permission to retain a deserter who surrendered as "servant" (Keene to Burrows, November 5, 1804).
92. On May 10, 1803, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith gave Dr. S. R. Marshall at Philadelphia permission to procure a "servant at the wages of a Marine, and stated that Captain Franklin Wharton would pay such servant as a Marine. (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., VII, 112); On March 26, 1803 Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith wrote Dr. S. R. Marshall, Philadelphia, that he had "no objection" to his "having one of the Marines as a servant to continue with" him so long as he continued "to attend to the frigate Philadelphia, and the Marines stationed in Philadelphia" and that Captain Franklin Wharton, commanding the barracks, could supply him "with a Marine" upon showing him the letter.
93. Amer. St. Pa. Nav. Aff., I, 110-111; See also Navy Let. to Congress, I, 151.
94. See Brewster, Rambles about Portsmouth, N.H., 254.
95. Amer. St. Pap. Nav. Aff., I, 110-111; In May, 1805, the authorized (by the President) strength of the Corps, was 650 privates and the Corps was 60 below this number. In June, 1805, there were 126 enlisted men on duty at Headquarters. One third of this number were on duty at the Navy Yard, one third was available for usual military duties and the remaining third was composed of armourers, carpenters, tailors,

95. (Continued)
mechanics, bricklayers, invalids, hospital attendants and prisoners.
96. Captain Nicholson, Commandant of the Boston Navy Yard, "refused to allow quarters for the Marines at the Navy Yard," although he had been shown the Secretary's orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Burrows regarding the quarters and also been "solicited by the Navy Agent to allow them accomodation"; On June 28, 1802, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, wrote to Captain Nicholson, directing that officer to "immediately grant the necessary accomodation to the Guard." (Navy Let. Bk., Ships of War, 426).
97. See Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 448; Secretary of the Navy to Wharton, June 3, 1805, directs guard of one Lieutenant and 19 men for New York Navy Yard, while Secretary of the Navy to Beckman same date, states "I suppose it will be necessary to have a small house built for their accomodations; See Navy Gen. Let. Bk., July 22, 1805, Wharton to Secretary of the Navy; On July 24, 1805, Secretary of the Navy directed Wharton to issue certain orders to Lieut. J. R. Fenwick, commanding the Marine Guard at the New York Navy Yard. (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 13-14).
98. On July 20, 1804, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, directed the Commandant to "without delay order a commissioned officer to Portsmouth, Va., to take the command of the Marine Guard at that place." Lieutenant Enoch Lane had died at Norfolk, which left the post in charge of a non-commissioned officer. (Navy Let. Bk. Mar. Off., I, 5).
99. On August 4, 1801, Secretary of the Navy Smith ordered the Commandant "to establish competent guards of Marines for the effectual protection of the Navy Yards of Washington and Philadelphia and of the several frigates laid up in ordinary." (Gen. Let. Bk., Navy Department, 480); Navy Gen. Let. Bk., V, 310; On August 16, 1806 the Commandant wrote to Captain Anthony Gale expressing his sympathy "as a parent I must feel for the loss you have sustained in the death of your only child," and further that the "established commands of the Navy Yards" were 1 Lieut. 2 corporals, and 15 Privates, 2 musics each." (Marine Corps Archives).
100. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., V, 169, Secretary of the Navy to George Harrison, January 14, 1802.
101. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., V, 184, A.B. Thomas to Burrows, January 25, 1802.

102. Navy Let. Bk., Ships of War, 385, 391, Secretary of the Navy to Burrows.
103. "It is necessary that a Captain should be stationed at Philadelphia to be enabled to expedite men and clothing from there, it being a central spot."
(Marine Corps Archives).
104. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 250.
105. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 250.
106. On October 27, 1805, Lieut. Colonel Wharton wrote Secretary of the Navy Smith respecting his authority to convene courts-martial under the 3rd line of the 2nd Article for Admin. of Justice in Articles of War. (Marine Corps Archives).
107. Article 68 of the Act of April 10, 1806, which was later carried into the Articles of War, provided: "Whenever it may be found convenient and necessary to the public service, the officers of the Marines shall be associated with the officers of the land forces, for the purpose of holding courts-martial and trying offenders belonging to either; and in such cases the orders of the senior officer of either Corps, who maybe present and duly authorized, shall be received and obeyed."
108. A "general court-martial" convened by the Commandant for the trial of an officer was composed of six officers and Elias B. Caldwell was Judge Advocate. It met in Hotel Stelle. (Order Bk., November 15, 1805); Lieutenant John Williams acted as judge advocate of a "general court-martial convened by the Commandant on November 17, 1805." (Order Book).
109. Order Book, August, 1803; A court-martial however convened by the Commandant in February 1804 was composed of five officers, but no judge advocate or other prosecutor was mentioned in the precept. (Order Bk., February 13, 1804); On May 5, 1805, a "court-martial" was convened by the Commandant composed of five officers and Surgeon John Harrison as judge advocate. (Order Bk., May 5, 1805); A "court-martial" convened on September 23, 1805 was composed of five officers and Lieutenant W. S. Osborne as Judge Advocate. (Order Book, September 23, 1805).
110. Through means of an order book of the Commandant beginning with an entry of August 22, 1803 and ending with one on January 13, 1815, the methods of enforcing discipline may be ascertained.


111. Marine Corps Archives.
112. Marine Corps Gazette, I, 1916, 43-62.
113. Commrs. Let. Bk.; July 31, 1800; Bryan, A Hist. of the Nat. Capital, I, 1790-1814, 370-373.
114. Dr. Charles Jarvis was engaged at \$506.00 per year to attend the Marine Guard at Charleston" and the officers and men of the Navy there, or at Boston. On July 24, 1805, Wharton wrote Fenwick that Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, had ordered "Mr. Aikin, a surgeon's mate to repair to New York and to attend to the detachment under you." In a letter of September 20m 1810, "John Harrison", signed himself as "Physician to the M. Corps."
115. In August, 1806, the Commandant directed that the bayonets be numbered "to avoid mistakes." He directed "no change can in future be made." Each and every soldier will now know the bayonet to him delivered, as well as the musket."
116. The appropriations were as follows: Appropriations for premiums for enlisting, "musical instruments" and "bounty to music," were included in "contingent" \$20,000 was included in Act of March 3, 1801 for "erecting Marine Barracks," Act of January 25, 1805 appropriating \$3,500.00 for completing the Washington Barracks.

ACT	Pay and Subsistence	Clothing & Mil. Stores	Q.M. Dept. Contingent, etc.	Total
Mar. 3, 1801:	110,720.10	42,747.68	13,436.00	166,903.78
May 1, 1802:	71,754.40	16,743.60	10,611.00	99,109.00
Mar. 2, 1803:	65,095.60	16,223.83	10,461.00	91,780.43
Jan. 31, 1804:	57,541.80	13,304.76	9,847.00	80,693.56
Jan. 25, 1805:	82,593.60	18,171.98	9,669.00	110,434.58
Apr. 21, 1806:	66,028.10	15,495.00	9,295.00	90,818.10


On February 15, 1803, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith directed Charles Wadsworth, Purser, Present, to "pay to Lt. Col. William W. Burrows, the sum of \$1500.00 and take his receipt," as a voucher. (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., VI, 40); Col. Burrows' original Book showing monies received and disbursed is in Marine Corps Archives.

117. See Dearborn to Burrows, June 28, 1801; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 432.
118. Navy Let. to Off. of Ships of War, 99.
119. "Marines before they are attached to the ship are under the command of the Lieutenant Colonel of the Marine Corps, but after they are so attached, the command of the Lieutenant Colonel Commandant over them ceases, and from that moment the Marines, officers as well as privates, are under the command of the Captain or Commanding Officer of such ship. And the Marines so attached to a ship, are not to be removed from her but by the order of this department," etc. Then on July 7, 1809, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton, "expunged" even the conditional right to make seamen of Marines. (Navy Let. Bk., Ships of War, 177, 178-179; Griffin, Commodore Barney, 226-228); No Commanding Officer or Squad Commander is "authorized to increase or add" to a detachment of Marines placed on board ships by order of the Secretary of the Navy; Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 26-27; Secretary of the Navy Smith to Wharton, May 15, 1806.
120. Navy Let. Bk., Let. to Officers of Ships, 337; Lt. Col. Comdt. Burrows wrote: "I shall with my life protect my officers in a just cause, but I never shall countenance rudeness." (Burrows to Lieut. Anthony Gale, May 11, 1801).
121. Secretary of the Army and Secretary of the Navy agreed that "officers shall rank agreeably to date of commission." (Secretary of the Navy Smith to Carmick at New Orleans, June 28, 1804 and July 13, 1804, Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 3, 4).
122. Paullin, Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1290, citing Adams Randolph, 160-161; See also Cutler and Cutler, Life of Manassah Cutler, II, 99.
123. Flour was used for powdering the hair. Captain Franklin Wharton at Philadelphia refused to furnish the Marines of the Philadelphia with a "barrel of flour" without authority from the Commandant. On October 22, 1803, the Commandant ordered that "on Saturday the 29th instant the Marines appear in their winter uniform and wear queues which the Quartermaster will provide, giving each man one and charging him with same." On the same date it was ordered "that officers in future wear their blue uniform coats, white under clothes, cocked hats and sashes", and it was expected that "no one will

123. (Continued)

undertake to alter any parts of his uniform without direct order." (Order Book, October 22, 1803); On November 8, 1803, the officers were directed to wear the sash only when on duty. (Order Book). In March, 1804, the annual uniform allowance to the enlisted men was reduced. The vest was done away with as the "form of the coatee" no longer made it necessary. Two instead of three stocks were allowed for the three years. The clasps were eliminated as useless. The "cap" replaced the "hat." Two pairs of socks were allowed per year instead of four. One sailor's common jacket and one pair of trousers were issued "in lieu of the 1 hat or cap." Colonel Wharton explained that "these being made in barracks, under the immediate inspection of the Quartermaster will be issued to the recruit, who by a proper use of them will early learn a due regard to his parade dress, which while it ensures the attention of his officer, in a high degree promotes that ambition so essential to the existence of a soldier." Until Captain Carmick received the new caps, brass plates and red feathers, at New Orleans, he outfitted his men with the "new caps" with the "Bucks Tail, and cockade in front." In March, 1804, the Commandant wrote Captain Wharton in Philadelphia, the following specifications regarding the hat: Hat two sizes, 6 and 7 inches high, made very stiff "to prevent the falling in of the crown." "Brim over the eyes in the center, to project 2½ inches." On March 25, 1804, it was ordered that the following dress be the uniform of the Marine Corps: Officers, Navy blue Coat, buttoned across the breast with two rows of buttons, and eight on each side, the button holes laced, brought to a point in the center thus ; three buttons on the sleeves, laced in the same manner; the pockets with three buttons, placed, and with lace, similar to the sleeves; the collar of scarlet, hooked before, with two buttons on each side, laced; cuffs scarlet; the skirts turned up with scarlet, and two foul anchors worked with gold thread on each skirt; the skirts lined with scarlet and three button holes laced (on the lappels of the coat) on scarlet, this however not to be seen, when on duty in winter. Vest and pantaloons white, with small navy buttons. Hat, cocked in Winter, round in Summer, with a Gold band and the Band diagonally fixed, the tassel over the right eye. Tassel; Plume, scarlet; the hair to be queued. The officers, when in full uniform, are to wear a scarlet sash around the waist, outside the coat and black boots to the knee, sash tied on the left side, falling over the

123. (Continued)

left thigh. Black leather stock when on duty. The officers grades are to be designated in the following manner: A Colonel, two gold epaulettes, one on each shoulder. A Captain, a gold epaulette on the right shoulder and a gold strap on the left. A First Lieutenant, gold epaulette on the right shoulder. A Second Lieutenant, gold epaulette on the left shoulder. The Staff to wear a gold epaulette and a counterstrap embroidered on blue cloth. Side arms, yellow mounted Sabres with gilt scabbards worn over the Sash, black belts, with yellow mounting. The uniform of Marines to be a Coatee single breasted, 1 row of buttons, yellow worsted binding on each side, the extreme ends of which represent a half diamond thus ; white cloth pantaloons, black cloth Gaiters, to come up to the calf of the leg, and linen overalls in summer. High crowned hats, without a brim, and a plume of red plush on the front of the hat with a Brass Eagle and Plate. Hat band of blue, yellow and red cord with a Tassel of the same colors. (Marine Corps Orders, August 22, 1803 to January 11, 1815, inclusive, 9); An Eagle was substituted for a cockade, as an ornament, about this time. On May 3, 1804, the Commandant directed the "summer uniform" to be worn after May 15th, and on that day every Marine "would appear in white pantaloons." In April, 1804, a piece of black leather, was put in the rear of all hats a "sewn below the gourd" or brim "to avoid the power." Five cents a hat extra was allowed for this. White coats for the officers and men were done away with. A Frenchman on Third Street, Philadelphia, provided the Marines with hat bands and plumes in 1804. Lieutenant-Colonel Wharton paid this Frenchman \$3.50 for a pair of epaulettes in the same year. The fatigue caps for the men cost 50 cents a piece. "Pipe clay" was referred to on October 27, 1804. On April 25, 1804, Lieutenant-Colonel Wharton wrote Lieutenant Fenwick to contract for three colors instead of two for the officers hat bands to correspond with the blue, scarlet and gold of the uniform. On November 3, 1804, all officers were directed to appear in "full uniform" when serving on courts-martial. On November 8, 1805 all officers "appear agreeably to the Winter Establishment, with cocked hats;" etc. (Order Book). On November 9, 1804, it was ordered that in future the troops would appear in their winter dress by wearing woollen overalls, a fatigue suit being now issued to each soldier. The full uniform will be worn on Parade only. Whiteing will be issued for the cleaning of overalls instead of washing, which will be furnished by

123. (Continued)

the Quartermaster Sergeant. On November 9, 1804 it was directed that officers in future appear on Parade with cocked hats and the coat buttoned according to the winter establishment. In December "tin cased cartouch boxes" were adopted, and a "barrel of sour flour for powdering" was delivered at the Washington Barracks.

124.

The officers wore a Navy blue coat, buttoned across the breast, with two rows of Navy buttons, eight on each side, the button holes laced, and brought to a point in the center three buttons on the sleeves, laced in the same manner; the pockets with three buttons, placed, and with lace, similar to the sleeve; the collar of scarlet, hooked before with two buttons on each side; laced scarlet cuffs; the skirts turned up with scarlet, and two foul anchors worked with gold thread on each skirt; the skirts lined with scarlet and three buttons holes laced (on the lappels of the coat) on scarlet; this however, not to be seen when on duty, in winter. White vest and pantaloons; hat cocked in winter with a gold laced loop, and Navy button under a leather cockade, the hat to be worn over the right eye, the range of the cock of the hat of course over the left eye, with tassels from the sides of the hat. Round hat in summer, with a gold band and tassel, the band diagonally fixed, the tassel over the right eye. Hats with scarlet plume. The hair to be queued. The officers when in full uniform were directed to wear a scarlet sash around the waist, outside the coat, and black boots, to the knee, with black silk tassels. Sash tied on the left side, falling over the left thigh. Black leather stock, when on duty. The officers grades were designated in the following manner: Colonel, two gold epaulettes, one on each shoulder, Captain, one gold epaulette on the right shoulder, and a gold strap on the left. First Lieutenant - one gold epaulette on the right shoulder, Second Lieutenant - one gold epaulette on the left shoulder. The Staff to wear a gold epaulette and a counterstrap embroidered on blue cloth. Side-arms yellow mounted Sabres with gilt scabbards, worn over the sash; black belts, with yellow mountings. The uniform of the Marines was a single breasted Coatee with one row of buttons, yellow worsted binding on each side, the extreme ends of which represent a half diamond; white cloth pantaloons; black cloth or linen gaiters to come up to the calf of the leg; and linen overalls in summer. High crowned hats, without a brim, and a plume of red

124. (Continued)

plush on the front of the hat, with a brass eagle and plate, and hat band of blue, yellow and red cord, with a tassel of the same colors. Sergeants wore leather cockades on the left side of the hat, with their plumes. On December 16, 1805, Secretary of the Navy Smith directed that "the officers of the Marine Corps will in future wear white cross belts with gilt plates instead of the black as expressed in the order of the 14th of October last." (Navy Let. Bk. Mar. Off., I, 22). On February 9, 1806, the Commandant issued a circular to answer the wishes of the officers at Headquarters, as expressed by a letter from Captain John Hall to the Commandant and ordered that in future officers might appear on the Morning and Evening Parades, only in coats as described in orders by the Secretary of the Navy with the exception of Lace. This order did in no way militate against the General Order in uniforms issued on October 14, 1805. The uniform Coat therein described was directed to be worn on all other duty than the above mentioned. On May 5, 1806, it was directed that as doubts might not arise as to the Pantaloon, ordered to be worn by the Secretary of the Navy and to remove any impressions then formed, as to the texture of the stuff of which they may be made, it was ordered, that they are to be white and plain without reference to any particular quality. On May 9, 1806 it was ordered that officers appear when on duty agreeably to the Summer Establishment, with Round Hats. On July 7, 1806, the Secretary directed that the noncommissioned officers, musicians and privates, should wear "yellow bands and tassels" instead of those described on October 14, 1805. On October 21, 1806, the Secretary of the Navy directed that the enlisted men wear "black gaiters made to come up to the knee instead of the calf of the leg;" and that the musics might wear a feather instead of a plume, the feather to be worn on the side of the cap. (Navy Let. Bk. Mar. Off., I, 33).

125. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., IV, 482.

126. On July 24, 1806, Wharton wrote Lieutenant John R. Fenwick at New York, that he would "engage the person, now acting as contractor" "to furnish your men with rations at \$.19 if a more reduced price is not offered." (Wharton Fenwick, July 24, 1806); On July 24, 1805, Wharton wrote Fenwick at New York that men at Headquarters "have only received half a gill of liquor per day, for some time past;" but when contract ended Wharton would "require the Army allowance" which Fenwick was authorized to give his men. (M.C. Archives).

INDEX for CHAPTER XVI
Volume I

Acquisition of Louisiana.....	1, 48
Adams, President.....	2, 3
Adams, Mrs.....	2
Adams, frigate.....	18, 32
Alien and Sedition Acts.....	2
Algiers.....	11
Appropriations.....	21, 39, 53, 61
Argus.....	32
Artillery.....	44, 45
Ashworth, Drum Major Charles S.....	13, 18, 51
Bainbridge, Captain William.....	12, 17
Baltimore, Recruiting Rendezvous at.....	23
"Band of Music".....	15, 16
Barbary States.....	1
Barron, Captain James.....	19
Barron, Commodore Samuel.....	11, 16, 17, 52
Belts, White.....	42
"Best Muskets for Marines".....	39
Bey of Tunis.....	10, 11
"Bounties".....	21
"Bounty to Music".....	21
Boxer.....	46
Brent, Captain.....	13
Burrows, Colonel Commandant William Ward.....	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16 24, 34, 37, 46, 47, 52, 59, 61, 62
Burrows, William (Son of Commandant).....	46
Caldwell, Mr. Elias B.....	13
"Captain Hall's Band of Italians".....	17
Carmick, Captain Daniel.....	21, 63
Carusi, Gaetano.....	15, 17
Catania, Italy.....	15, 16
Cassin, Captain John, U. S. Navy.....	53
Chains and Clogs.....	36
Chepachet Expedition.....	45
Cherokee Chiefs.....	3
Chesapeake, frigate.....	15
Civilian as Marine Surgeon.....	38, 61
Commandant's House, Construction of.....	20, 21
Commandants, duties of.....	52
Company Courts-martial.....	35
Congress.....	39, 41, 48
Congress.....	10, 15, 16

Constitution.....	32, 54
Courts-martial.....	33, 34, 35, 60
Dearborn, Secretary of War, Samuel.....	3, 18, 41, 62
Decatur, Captain Stephen.....	19
Derne, Tripoli.....	12
Desertion.....	23
Dessalines.....	9
Discipline of the Corps.....	34
Distribution of Marine Corps Personnel.....	31, 32
Dorr War.....	44
Duelling.....	19
Duties of the Commandant.....	19, 20, 52
Duties of Marines.....	24
Duties of Officer of the Day.....	25, 55
Duties of the Adjutant at Marine Barracks.....	25, 54
Duties of the Commanding Officers at Marine Barracks.....	25, 54, 55, 56
Duties of the Quartermaster at Marine Barracks.....	26
Eaton, General William.....	12
Emperor of Haiti.....	9
Enlisted men on Courts-martial.....	35
Enlisted strength of Marine Corps (1806).....	22
Enterprise.....	52, 42, 46
Farr, Drum Major William.....	2, 13, 51
Fenwick, Lieutenant John R.....	38, 52, 61, 66
Feu-de-joie.....	4
First Inauguration at Washington.....	12
First Presidential New Year's Reception (Washington).....	2
Flogging.....	35
Flour for "Powdering the Hair".....	62
Forrest, Sergeant Major Alex.....	23
France.....	1, 8, 9
Franklin, Benjamin.....	46
Franklin, brig.....	30, 12
French Naval War.....	2, 8
Fuel.....	57
Gale, Captain Anthony.....	7, 42, 50, 59
Gates, General Horatio.....	11
George Washington.....	33
Great Britain.....	1, 5, 9
Greenleaf, Lieutenant Robert.....	53
Grog.....	36
Guard Duty.....	26, 27, 23
Gunboats, Marine Personnel of.....	49
Gunboat Policy of President Jefferson.....	1, 11

Haiti, Republic of.....	1, 8, 9, 48
Hall, Captain John.....	14, 15, 16, 17
Hall, Lieutenant Edward.....	35
Hampton Roads.....	16
Henderson, Lieutenant Archibald.....	52
Inauguration at Washington, first.....	2
Indian Chief, death of.....	19
Italy.....	14
Italian Band.....	7, 12, 13, 17, 18
Italians enlisted as Bandsmen.....	15, 16, 51
Jefferson, President.....	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 18, 21, 22, 24, 31
Jefferson's "Gunboat Policy".....	1, 11
Jefferson's March.....	3
John Adams, Frigate.....	32
Johnson, Lieutenant John.....	10, 35, 52
Jurisdictional status of Marines ashore.....	40, 41
Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.....	2
L'Ouverture, Toussaint.....	8, 9, 48
LeClerc, General.....	8, 9
Liberty Parties.....	30
Louisiana, Acquisition of.....	1, 48
McMunn and Conrad's.....	3, 4
Marine Band.....	3, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 19, 24, 50, 51
Marine Band, origin of.....	14
Marine Barracks, New Orleans.....	1
Marine Corps, strength of.....	31, 58
Marine Corps Personnel, distribution of.....	58
"Marine Church".....	50
Marine Guards.....	11, 12, 24, 32, 48, 54, 59
Marines, Pay of.....	30, 53, 58
Marines as "Shock Absorbers".....	1
Marines to Bluejackets (?).....	39, 62
Mediterranean.....	11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 32, 42
Memminger, Captain George.....	52
"Mess".....	29
Midshipman admonished for striking Marine.....	40
Morin's Tavern.....	19
"Music Fund".....	21
Nautilus.....	32
New York.....	24, 32
Nicholas' Battalion.....	5
Nicholson, Captain, U. S. Navy.....	59

O'Bannon, Lieutenant Presley N.....	12
Obituary for Commandant William Ward Burrows.....	8, 47
Osage Chiefs.....	18
Palermo, Italy.....	15
Pay of Marines.....	30, 53, 58
Philadelphia, frigate.....	32, 33, 58, 62
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania as Supply Depot.....	60
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Recruiting Rendezvous.....	22
Pichon, M. Charge d'Affairs (France).....	4, 5
Populum Servimus.....	13
Preble, Commodore.....	14
"Premiums for Enlisting".....	21
President, frigate.....	12, 16, 17
President's March.....	4
President's New Year's Reception, first in Washington.....	2
"President's Own", Marines as.....	13
"Presidential Troops", Marines as.....	1
Punishments adjudged by Courts-martial.....	35, 36
"Quasi-recognition" of Haitian Independence.....	9
Quarters for Marines.....	33, 59
Randolph, John.....	41
Rankin, Lieutenant Robert.....	52, 53
Rations.....	43, 66
Recruiting.....	21, 22, 23
Rendezvous for Recruiting.....	21, 22, 23
Rewards for apprehension of Deserters.....	23
Reynolds, Lieutenant Michael.....	52
Rigaud, Andre.....	6, 9
Republic of Haiti.....	1
Rhode Island.....	5
Rodgers, Commodore.....	17, 19, 42, 52
Rum Allowances.....	33
Russia.....	11
Saluting.....	26
Secretary of the Navy, Robert Smith.....	3, 7, 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 31, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 52, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61
Simmons, Mr. William.....	12
"Shock Absorbers", Marines as.....	1
Siren.....	32
Spain.....	1
"Spirit Room".....	54
"Squad System".....	28
Status of Marines at sea.....	39, 40, 62
Stelles Hotel.....	6, 12, 19, 60
Stoddert, Benjamin, Secretary of the Navy.....	3
Strength of Marine Corps.....	31, 58

"Sub-legal" Court.....	35
Supply depot, Philadelphia as.....	33, 60
"Surrender the Post", Wharton's refusal to.....	33
"Tailor Sergeant".....	41
Talbot, Captain Silas, U. S. Navy.....	39
Taylor, Colonel John.....	12
"The Band of the People".....	13
Thompson, Lieutenant James.....	53
Tingey, Captain Thomas.....	5, 11, 12, 19, 52
"Tower-proof Muskets".....	38
Training of Early Marines.....	23, 24
Tripoli.....	1, 17
Tripolitan War.....	15
"Troop".....	28, 57
Tunis.....	10
Tunisian Ambassador.....	10, 18, 48, 49
Tunisian Minister.....	11
<u>Two Brothers</u>	10, 11
Uniforms.....	41, 42, 62, 63, 64, 65
<u>United States</u>	46
Varano, Gaetano.....	15
Victorious Peace.....	1
<u>Vixen</u>	32
"Waiters".....	30, 31, 58
Washington's Army.....	5
Washington Barracks, construction of.....	20, 21
Washington, General George.....	10
"We serve the People".....	13
Wharton, Colonel Commandant Franklin.....	1, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 26, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 41, 42, 46, 50, 53, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66
Wharton's Stand against prevalence of drinking.....	37, 38
White House.....	2, 3, 13
Wilkinson, General James, U. S. Army.....	11
X.Y.Z. Affair.....	2

NEW ORLEANS AND THE BURR CONSPIRACY
1807-1812

Chapter XVII, Volume I

History of the United States Marine Corps

By

Major Edwin N. McClellan, U.S. Marines
Officer-in-Charge
Historical Section.

First Edition
JULY 29, 1925

FORENOTE

If details concerning the participation of the Navy and Army in any operation or incident described herein do not appear, such omission occurs only because it is impracticable in a history of this character to set forth more than the work of the Marines themselves. To do more than this would extend the history beyond the scope and size planned. In many of the operations described, the Navy or the Army, or both, have been present in greater strength than the Marines, and full credit is here given for their splendid achievements.

The following form of citation is suggested if it is desired to cite, either in published works, or manuscript, any information contained herein:-

(McClellan, Hist. U. S. M. C., 1st ed., I, Chap. 17, p--)

CHAPTER XVII
NEW ORLEANS AND THE BURR CONSPIRACY
1807-1812

Organized in 1798, while the United States was engaged in the Naval War with France, the New Marine Corps distinguished itself just as did the Old Corps during the Revolution. The Tripolitan War, fought in the Mediterranean and North Africa, brought fresh laurels to the Corps. Then followed the period of peace in which the United States was not engaged in any war but which nevertheless was full of work for the Marines.¹

Two of the three outstanding military operations of this epoch - as far as Marines were concerned - were of an expeditionary nature and in cooperation with the Army. The first was the dispatching of a considerable force of Marines to New Orleans, caused by the probability of war with Spain and the "Burr Conspiracy." The second was the expedition to East Florida, where actual hostilities in Spanish territory resulted and Marines suffered casualties.² The third was the increasing friction between America and Great Britain which ended in the War of 1812. This caused several military contacts of a serious nature, in which Marines participated.³ This Chapter will describe the first of these three.

In July, 1806, practically everybody in the United States thought war with Spain was inevitable.⁴ Had this war been fought, the small garrison of the Army and Marines

at New Orleans would have been the first to meet the enemy.

The sale of Louisiana to the United States by Napoleon in 1803 brought a new duty to the Marines. Possession was taken and the American flag raised December 20, 1803,⁵ under the terms of the Act of October 31, 1803. President Jefferson at once directed that a detachment of Marines be despatched to New Orleans.⁶ On January 21, 1804, Captain Daniel Carmick received preparatory orders to proceed with a detachment of Marines on board the brig Superior to New Orleans and report to the senior Army officer⁷ under whose orders Captain Carmick was instructed to act. Mr. Ben Alline, a purser in the Navy, was directed to proceed to New Orleans via Chillicothe, to serve with the detachment⁸ and Dr. William Rogers reported to Captain Carmick as surgeon for the Marines.⁹

News of James Monroe's successful bargain for the territory of Louisiana¹⁰ arrived in Washington in 1804, and the acquisition of that noble addition to our territory was celebrated with a largely attended dinner at Stelle's Hotel on Capital Hill, on the 27th of January. President Jefferson, Vice President Burr, many Senators and Representatives, the Cabinet Officers, and all the leading Army, Navy and Marine Corps officers on duty in Washington were present. "The full Band of Music from the Marine Corps welcomed the President's arrival at the hotel by playing Jefferson's March."¹¹ The Band played a new march composed by "an Amateur" in honor of the pur-

chase of Louisiana. The words were written by Michael Fortune. Many toasts were drank and the intervals between them were filled with appropriate music from the Marine Band.¹¹

In March, 1804, Captain Carmick was ordered to hold himself "in readiness to proceed to New Orleans without delay" with First Lieuts. Michael Reynolds, Samuel Llewellyn¹² and Samuel Baldwin, four sergeants, two musics and 96 "rank and file."¹³ He carried with him 5,000 pounds of ship bread, 15 barrels of beef, 13 barrels of pork, 100,000 cartridges, and sufficient hammocks for his command.¹⁴

The ambiguous jurisidction over the Marines as to whether they were Army or Navy, when serving ashore, is shown by Carmick's correspondence in June, 1804, with the Secretary of the Navy over precedence. Carmick was informed that he ranked all Army captains with commissions dated subsequent to his.¹⁵

On December 20, 1804, the Marines at New Orleans participated in the First Anniversary of the acquisition of Louisiana. The Louisiana fired a salute. "At half-past eleven the regular troops * * * and the Marine Corps, marched and formed on the public square."¹⁶

Lieutenant Llewellyn was on duty at "Point Coupee," for several months in 1804-1805, and Lieutenant Reynolds at Fort Adams. Several men were on duty at Fort St. Philip.¹⁷

The climate being unhealthful, it was decided to abandon New Orleans as a Marine post and Carmick received orders dated May 4, 1805, to proceed by water to Washington with the officers and men under his command.¹⁸ He left New Orleans about August 1st with his entire command, including about thirty sick men.¹⁹

It was decided in November, 1805, to reestablish the post at New Orleans. On November 11th, Lieutenant Colonel Wharton was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, to send a detachment of 1 officer, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 10 privates to Hampton by water where they would board the Hornet for New Orleans. These orders contained instructions for the Commandant to establish a post at or near New Orleans to consist of one commissioned officer, two sergeants, two corporals and fifteen privates. Authority was granted to maintain this post at strength by recruiting in New Orleans.²⁰ The Commandant selected 1st Lieutenant Samuel Baldwin to command this post. He received his orders on the 11th of November,²¹ shortly after started on his long journey, and arrived at New Orleans, where he temporarily established his command in the Army barracks.²²

In the Spring of 1806, there were only twenty Marines under First Lieutenant Samuel Baldwin at New Orleans.²³ In June there were thirty-three men at the "Marine Camp opposite New Orleans."²³ In this month, the first gunboats arrived at New Orleans, and any

vacancies in their Marine guards were at once filled from this Camp.²³

After considerable correspondence the status of the Marines serving ashore at New Orleans was settled. The Army had claimed jurisdiction but it was decided that the Marine Barracks was "a separate command from the Army or its officers," and that it had been established for naval purposes such as supplying the gunboats with Marines.²⁴

In the Fall of 1806, the Marines at New Orleans serving on the gunboats and the two bomb-ketches, Etna and Vesuvius, saw considerable service up and down the river and in the Gulf.²⁵

Meanwhile the so-called "Burr Conspiracy" was developing. Aaron Burr, it seems, depended on General William Eaton, who had led the expedition against Derne in Tripoli in 1805, in which Lieutenant O'Bannon of the Marines had so distinguished himself. Eaton deposed that Burr told him that he would erect his standard at Washington and then inquired of him "with what officers of the Marine Corps," he was acquainted. Eaton replied, "with most of them," whereupon Burr informed Eaton that "if he could gain over the Marine Corps, and secure to his interests the Naval Commanders Truxton, Preble and Decatur, he would turn Congress neck and heels out of doors; assassinate the President;" "seize on the Treasury and the Navy, and declare himself the protector of an energetic government." Burr then proposed to Eaton that he "en-

deavor to engage the Marine Corps," and told Eaton that he would like to engage First Lieutenant of Marines Michael Reynolds, "a handsome and excellent officer." Burr "grew importunate on the subject of the Marine Corps" and asked Eaton "with some engagedness, how the Marine Corps stood;" Eaton replied, "Make yourself easy, sir; the Marine Corps stand as they should stand."²⁶

Burr's activities and those of Spain created such a concern to President Jefferson in 1806, that on the 24th of October, he concluded to order Captains Preble and Decatur, the Argus and seven gunboats to New Orleans; "that Preble shall, on consultation with Governor Claiborne have great discretionary powers," and that "Graham shall be sent through Kentucky on Burr's trail," to "arrest Burr if he has made himself liable."²⁷ But this determination was rescinded the next day and the President decided that "instead of them" to "send off the Marines" which were in Washington, "to reinforce, or take the place of the garrison at New Orleans with a view to Spanish operations."²⁷ Two days later - the 27th - Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith directed the Commandant to organize a detachment of four officers and 74 enlisted men for this purpose.²⁷

This famous "conspiracy", or whatever it was, came to a head with the arrest of many of those involved. Dr. Erick Bollman, "a German, who had acquired some celebrity for his attempt to liberate Lafayette from his prison of

Olmutz,"²⁸ and Samuel Swartwout, two of the accused, were arrested at New Orleans by order of General Wilkinson,²⁹ and having arrived in Washington on January 14, 1807, "remained at the Marine Barracks under the charge of Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Wharton."³⁰

What a crushing answer to the hopeful query of Burr as to "how the Marine Corps stood" - Marines (including the "handsome and excellent" Reynolds) sent to New Orleans, the very centre of the conspiracy, by the President; and Marines guarding the arrested conspirators.³¹

Captain Daniel Carmick, on December 11, 1806, was ordered to proceed to New Orleans on the U. S. Brig Franklin with First Lieutenant Michael Reynolds, Second Lieutenant Laurence Cruise and 74 enlisted men. Upon arriving at New Orleans, he assumed command relieving Lieut. Baldwin. These orders stated that the Marines were to be viewed "as essential to the Naval Service, to be employed in that quarter of our Country." Among other things this detachment was to furnish Marines for the "Bomb vessels and Gunboats." The quartermaster furnished "tents necessary for 100 men."³²

Early in 1807, Congress inquired of the Secretary of the Navy as to the protection being afforded New Orleans by the Navy. On January 3rd the Secretary replied that stationed there were 126 Marines, the bomb-ketches Etna and Vesuvius and gunboats Nos. 11, 12, 13, and 14.³³

There were 122 enlisted Marines on duty at New Orleans

in April, 1807. From this number guards were supplied for the schooner Revenge and the flotilla of six gunboats; a guard of a lieutenant, 17 men and five waiters, detailed for the Navy Yard; and a lieutenant and 12 men to garrison Fort St. John.³⁴

Captain Carmick with a detachment of Marines returned to Washington in the summer of 1807, leaving First Lieutenant Michael Reynolds in command of the post with First Lieutenant Samuel Baldwin.³⁵

The resignation of First Lieutenant Samuel Baldwin from the Corps was accepted while he was on duty at New Orleans and he was appointed a judge in the district of St. Helena.³⁶

The Secretary of the Navy informed the Senate on February 9, 1809, that "the President has determined to station at New Orleans three hundred Marines. This will obviously be a command too extensive for any officer sustaining only the commission of a Captain. I am decidedly of opinion that the New Orleans station requires one Major and two captains; and as four captains were considered necessary prior to the acquisition of New Orleans, the two required for that station ought to be in addition to the four at present authorized by law."³⁷

On February 13, 1809, Secretary of the Navy Smith informed the Commandant that "we require 300 Marines for New Orleans, including those now at that post;" that there will shortly sail for New Orleans eleven gunboats from Charleston, S. C., one from Wilmington, N. C., seven from Norfolk

two from Washington, two from Baltimore, seven from New York, and the ketches Etna and Vesuvius. The Secretary directed the Commandant to send the extra Marines on these vessels and save this expense and "order Captain Carmick and the requisite lieutenants to proceed in the ketches to New Orleans." Capt. Carmick arrived at New Orleans in the early summer.³⁸

After his arrival he experienced some difficulty over the question as to whether he or Captain David Porter, the senior naval officer, should exercise command over the Marines serving on the gunboats. The habit had grown up of carrying the names of these Marines on the New Orleans' muster roll, since there were no officers with them. However, an officer was later placed in the flotilla and on October 11, 1809, the Commandant recommended to Captain Carmick that he place First Lieutenant Joseph Forster under command of Captain Porter, who thereafter would have command of the Marines of the flotilla.³⁹

Marines serving on the gunboats participated in the occupation of Baton Rouge in 1810.

In January, Captain David Porter, U.S. Navy, commanding the New Orleans Station, placed Lieutenant Daniel T. Patterson "in command of a Squadron of twelve Gun Boats" and he proceeded with them to Natchez. Patterson did not return to New Orleans until February, 1811, and during this time "was present with his squadron at the taking possession of Baton Rouge, and transported the chief part

of the troops that were on that duty, but the surrender of the Port without hostilities, prevented the opportunity of being distinguished."⁴⁰

On December 18, 1810, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton, directed the Commandant to "instruct Major Carmick to receive and obey, till further orders, the orders of the Governor of the Orleans Territory, and require Major Carmick to inform the Governor of his having received from you such orders."⁴¹

"It is my intention to increase Major Carmick's command so as to have about 200 effective men on that station," wrote the Secretary, and "you will make arrangements so as to enable me to effect this object." At this time there were 105 enlisted men at New Orleans, but in May 1811, there were only 91.⁴¹

In January, 1811, Major Daniel Carmick led a detachment of Marines from his station in New Orleans on an "excursion" against "negro insurgents," "in the County of German Coast, in the territory of Orleans a few miles above the city." Major Carmick reported that "they gave us but little opportunity to put ourselves in danger; they fled at our first approach, and when they mustered courage to come to the attack, they stood but one fire and ran."⁴²

Major Carmick reported to the Commandant on July 13, 1811, that in his last letter he had mentioned that "a squadron of our gunboats had sailed from this [station] by order of the Governor to force their way by Fort Mobile."

"We are still remaining in suspense as to the result," wrote Captain Carmick. "One of our gunboats, a few days ago, fell in with a French privateer on our coast, gave chase and fired eleven rounds at her of round and canister, but she made her escape out of our jurisdiction." She had "overhauled a number of American merchantman bound to" New Orleans. Small guards of Marines were serving on these gunboats.⁴³

The plague destroyed life by the wholesale in the summer of 1811. On August 24, 1811, Major Carmick reported to the Commandant that one-third of the troops in the garrison were sick and died at the rate of five a day, but that his command had been more fortunate since he had only seven on the sick list of which only one was fever. "The fifer Laugh I took from the brig Syren will die in a short time," wrote the Major.⁴⁴

In the same letter Major Carmick reported that "there is little doubt but that the Indians have commenced hostilities with us. The inhabitants on the frontiers of Indiana and Illinois territory are flying from thence in great numbers. The troops in that quarter may have the honor of losing a few scalps. Although it is a kind of warfare I should not much admire, still better that, than none, on the enemy we have to front here."⁴⁴

In September, 1811, two officers and sixteen enlisted Marines died of the fever at New Orleans. First Lieutenant Francis Thornton died on the 4th and Second Lieutenant

Robert B. Riddle on the 18th. The Marines wore crepe, in their memory, for one month.⁴⁵ Sixteen Marines died during the month of October. The "fever still rages here," wrote the Major on October 18, 1811. It is "almost certain death for a stranger to enter the city," and that there are not many more cases, "must be attributed to the want of subjects."⁴⁶

In this letter Major Carmick requested junior officers to fill the places of those who had died. He had accepted the offer of the Army to give him a subaltern "for the purpose of taking charge of the Marines" at the barracks as he had been ordered "up to Baton Rouge on a court-martial," for which place he left on October 18th.⁴⁶

Major Carmick was anxious to have the Government purchase a site for barracks at New Orleans and urged the Commandant that it do so. The Government, however, refused to take up the subject. In January, 1812, the Commandant requested Major Carmick to forward information as to the cost of erecting "Huts" of Buildings at Bay St. Louis, New Orleans.⁴⁷

Major Carmick, anxious to participate in the expected war, asked for orders and was detached from New Orleans by the Commandant in the Spring of 1812. However, Secretary Hamilton informed Colonel Wharton that, since "Circumstances strongly indicate the necessity of having in that quarter an officer of experience and energy," he must recall his orders to Major Carmick.⁴⁸ As a result

Major Carmick continued at New Orleans and in December, 1814, was wounded in one of the battles under General Jackson.

War became an official fact in June, 1812, and the British blockaded the mouth of the Mississippi.⁴⁹

In July, 1812, there was a difference of opinion existing between General Wilkinson and Commodore Shaw as to Major Carmick's right to obey the orders of either. Major Carmick believed that he was under Army jurisdiction ashore. "I wish to inform you" reported Major Carmick to the Commandant, "that I have been on all the Councils of War that the General has convened and that he has given me several orders which I have obeyed. The last was to assume the command of the garrison here during his and Major McRea's absence, who have gone in the steamboat with a reinforcement for Plaquemine and to throw up a redoubt at the Balize. Under the existing state of things I am embarrassed how to act. I was yesterday, by the arrival of a senior officer relieved from the command of the garrison and now wish to proceed to the Pass of Christian with the Marines to fulfill your orders by doing which I may disobey the orders of General Wilkinson, if he considers me under his command. I am very desirous of having a command in the line should the land forces have anything to do here, which I can only obtain through General Wilkinson, and thus it is necessary I should throw a detachment of Marines into that service to entitle me thereto."⁵⁰

Major Carmick attended a "Council of War" on August 4, 1812, at New Orleans held by General Wilkinson. Lieutenants Patterson and Blakeley of the Navy were also present.⁵¹

On August 19, 1812, New Orleans was visited by "one of the most tremendous hurricanes that ever blew from the Heavens." The brig Enterprise "was drove from her anchors high and dry on the shore. The Shear Hulk Etna was sunk," her Marines going down on her. "One Marine" later "floated out of her" but three bodies were never found. The brig Viper received material damage. Many houses were unroofed but "the Marine Barracks" escaped this injury though it was partially destroyed. And in the confusion and devastation the Negroes and Indians, led by renegade whites, threatened an insurrection.⁵²

Major Carmick lamented that there were not forty gunboats at the New Orleans Station as it was "the only one where they would be formidable, both in the River and on the Bay of Mobile and along the coast." Five Hundred Marines could have also been employed to a very great advantage.⁵²

On August 31, 1812, Major Carmick reported to the Commandant that one gunboat had been lost and two were "up in the weeds," that the brig Siren was safe - chased into Pass Christian by a British Frigate. She had lost two men, however, one of them a corporal of Marines.⁵³

Since any operations against the enemy in the theatre

around New Orleans would be combined Army and Navy, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton on October 12, 1812, felt it necessary to direct Captain John Shaw (the senior Marine Officer) to "attend to the orders of Brigadier General Wilkinson, or the commanding officers of the Army near New Orleans." This order did not proceed from "any want of confidence" in Captain Shaw "but from the indispensable of having but one head to direct our operation on distant stations."⁵³ Similar orders, however, were not issued to Commodore Daniel T. Patterson, who cooperated with General Jackson in 1814 and 1815.

NOTES.
CHAPTER XVII

1. Marine Corps Gazette, March, 1923, 24-43, contains a great deal of the information in this Chapter.
2. See Chapter XVIII.
3. See Chapter XX.
4. Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1303; See also Sat. Eve. Post, September 6, 1924, 178; Dimitry, Lessons; Hist. Louis., 85; Gayaree, Hist., Louisiana, IV, 88-89, 155 et seq.; Fortier, Louisiana, 402-404; in letter, February 19, 1806, to Fenwick, Lt. Col. Wharton wrote: "The war of which you speak I find is not here so near in its approach as to require an issue of ammunition;" Porter's Memoir, 76-77.
5. Fortier, Louisiana, II, 537-539, contains an interesting description of the transfer. Marines were present on the war vessels lying on the River; See also THE Union (first number published) of New Orleans; Nat. Intell., January 4, 1804, January 16, 1804; also January 18, 1804 and January 25, 27, 1804; The Centinial Celebration of the transfer of the Province of Louisiana from France to the United States was held at New Orleans on December 18, 19, 20, 1903 with the U.S.S. Minneapolis, U.S.S. Yankee, U.S.S. Topeka, and the historic old Hartford, carrying Marine Guards, present (Fortier, Louisiana, I, 190-192).
6. See Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1295; On December 7, 1803, we find Captain Daniel Carmick dining in good company at the house of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, in Washington. (Cutler & Cutler, Life Journ. & Corr. of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, II, 149-150).
7. Sec. Navy Smith to Carmick, January 21, 1804, Navy Let. Bk., Misc. Letters; Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1295.
8. Sec. Navy Smith to Alline, April 4, 1804, Navy Off. Let. Bk. VI, 349; Navy Misc. Let. Bk., Thos. Turner to Alline, April 7, 1804.
9. Navy Officer's Let. Bk., VI, 305, Sec. Navy Smith to Rogers, March 13, 1804; Captain Carmick acted as his own paymaster and quartermaster. (Navy Let. Bk., MISC. Let., V, 49, Thos. Turner to Sec. Navy Robert Smith, September 21, 1805).

10. See Harper, Encyc. U.S. Hist., I, 15-18; the peace of Amiens was broken and Napoleon faced a gigantic conflict with England and with Europe. He needed money and moreover knew he could not hold Louisiana. (Writings of Jefferson, III, iv of Preface).
11. Nat. Intell., January 30, 1804.
12. Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 77; Secretary of the Navy Smith to Llewellyn, March 13, 1804.
13. Secretary of the Navy Smith to Carmick, March 14, 1804, Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 77.
14. Secretary of the Navy Smith to John Cassin, March 12, 1804, Navy Off. Let. Bk., VI, 301.
15. Robert Smith to Carmick, June 28 and July 13, 1804, Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 3,4.
16. Nat. Intell., February 22, 1805.
17. Marine Corps Archives.
18. Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith to Carmick, May 4, 1805, Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 11; Navy Gen. Let. Bk., VII, 427.
19. On July 19, 1805, Carmick wrote Secretary of the Navy he had received the orders on May 12th; that he had thirty sick; no yellow fever yet but expected to take aboard the vessel he had chartered; and that he expected to leave about August 1, 1805. (Navy Let. Bk., Misc. Let., IV, 24).
20. Smith to Wharton, November 11, 1805, Marine Corps Archives.
21. Wharton to Baldwin, November 11, 1805, Marine Corps Archives.
22. The U.S. Brig Franklin sailed from Alexandria, Va., for New Orleans on January 27, 1806, carrying Captain John Shaw, U.S. Navy and "a detachment of the Marine Corps," as passengers.
23. Marine Corps Muster Rolls.
24. Wharton to Carmick, December 11, 1806; Wharton to Baldwin, September 25, 1806; Wharton to Carmick, October 1, 1812 - Marine Corps Archives; See Notes 32 and 39.

25. Governor Wm., C.C. Claiborne on October 7, 1806 directed Captain John Shaw to "have the boats in port prepared for a cruise." In "two or three days some military stores will be shipped for Natchitoches" and the "gun boats should give them convoy by the fort of Batton (sic) Rouge." (Nat. Intell., November 17, 1806); See also Graham's Mag., XXV, March, 1844, No. 3, 109-114).
26. Nat. Intell.; January 28, 1807, October 16, 1807; Jared Sparks, Lib. of Amer. Biog., IX, 343-344; Deposition of Eaton, January 26, 1807; Saturday Eve. Post, September 6, 1924, 178; See also Minnigerode, Lives and Times, 94, 125-126; Janson, Stranger in America, 128; Porter's Memoir, 75.
27. Writings of Jefferson, I, 461-462.
28. Gayarre, Hist. of La., IV, 170.
29. J. Q. Adams Writings, III, 158.
30. "You will deliver Doct. Errick Pollman to Lt. Wilson, who has an order from the Secretary of War to take charge of him for a special purpose." (Secretary of the Navy Smith to Wharton, January 24, 1807, Navy Let. Bk.; Officers of Marine Corps, I, 37); See also Hildreth, Hist. U.S., V, 612-613; Writings of J.Q. Adams, III, 158.
31. "Actually, it is difficult, even today, to determine exactly what took place. It is not feasible, certainly in these pages to reconstruct more than the mere outline of the Castle in Spain which Colonel Burr erected upon the deluded hopes of his fascinated followers, and of his own possibly disordered imagination. * * * And then, in the event of war between America and Spain, there was to be an expedition into Mexico. They were counting on that war - just as, some forty years later, in California, Mr. Fremont was to count on a war with Mexico and not be disappointed, so that he became a hero as a result of his escapade, and not a public criminal." (Saturday Eve. Post, September 6, 1924, 178); but see Chapter , for a true statement of the facts concerning Fremont and Gillespie; "In reference to Burr's Conspiracy, as it has been called, we think it probable that the true history of it yet remains to be told. Had the views of Col. Burr been the worst they have been supposed to be, he has severely expiated his offenses. Not to palliate them, we yet say that he has suffered for them a thousand deaths, and has been sufficiently punished. It is only in

31. (Continued)
posthumous history, which we have no doubt of reading if we out-live any of the confidential actors in it, that all the truth of this Burr business will come out." (Nat. Intell., Wash.D.C., August 8, 1828, 3).
32. Wharton to Carmick, December 11, 1806, Marine Corps Archives; Tents for New Orleans (Secretary of the Navy Smith to Wharton, December 10, 1806, Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 35).
33. Nat. Intell., January 26, 1807.
34. Marine Corps Muster Rolls.
35. In a letter dated August 8, 1807, at Washington to the Commandant, Captain Daniel Carmick reported his "arrival from New Orleans with a detachment of Marines," having "left two officers on that station, First Lieutenants Michael Reynolds and Samuel Baldwin."
36. Nat. Intell., March 28, 1811.
37. Amer. St. Pa. Nav. Aff., I, 1912.
38. On July 5, 1809, the Commandant wrote Captain Carmick he was happy to hear of his safe arrival at New Orleans.
39. Wharton's letter October 1, 1812, to Carmick clearly showed that "all officers detached from this for naval services, either by sea or land, must consider themselves undoubtedly called on to obey the orders of the naval commander on the station, or at sea;" but with approval of naval commander, army operations may be aided.
40. Navy Misc. Letters & Captain's Letters, 1798-1826, No. 74½. In 1810 Porter went up Mississippi, Ohio, etc. to Pittsburg in gunboat. (Porter's Memoir, 85). In this same year the Vesuvius captured the French Schooners Duke of Montebello and Diomede (or Intrepide) (Nav. Inst. Proc., September-October, 1916, 1460-1467; Porter's Memoir, 79; Nav. Inst. Proc., December, 1911, 1199).
41. Navy Archives.
42. Commandant in a letter dated March 14, 1811, congratulated Major Carmick upon his safe return from this expedition and commended him for its success. This insurrection "had its origin in the parish of St. John the Baptist, on the left bank of the Mississippi River about

42. (Continued)

- 36 miles above New Orleans. Divided into companies, about 500 negroes marched on New Orleans. With flags flying, drums beating, accompanied by wild music of reed-quills and the din made by beating on iron kettles, etc., the procession was at once picturesque and barbaric. (Alcee Fortier, Louisiana, III, 213-215); Nat. Intell., February 19, 1811.
43. Marine Corps Archives; In August, 1811, Gunboat 162 took schooner La Franchise off Pensacola and three days later the Santa Maria off Mobile. In September the same gunboat engaged the La Sophie and La Vengeance, and the Diviana Pastora off Barataria. The pirates set schooners afire and escaped. (Nav. Inst. Proc., September-October, 1916, 1467).
44. Carmick to Wharton, July 13 & August 24, 1811, Marine Corps Archives.
45. Marine Corps Archives.
46. Carmick to Wharton, October 18, 1811, M.C. Arch.
47. See also Nav. Inst. Proc., XXX, 1313.
48. Hamilton to Wharton, March 21, 1812 (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 143).
49. Carmick to Wharton, August 24, 1812.
50. Carmick to Wharton, July 31, 1812; See also Lt. Col. Comdt. Wharton to Carmick, October 1, 1812; See Note 39.
51. Wilkinson, Memoirs, 498, 503.
52. Carmick to Wharton, August 24, 1812; See also Wharton to Carmick, October 1, 1812; Nat. Intell., September 22, 1812; The War, September 26, 1812.
53. Navy Let. Bk., Officers of Ships of War, No. 10, Hamilton to Shaw, October 12, 1812.

INDEX for CHAPTER XVII
Volume I.

Alline, Mr. Ben, Purser, U. S. Navy.....	2
Ambiguous Jurisdiction over Marines.....	3
<u>Argus</u>	6
<u>Army</u>	1, 2, 3, 5, 12, 13, 15
Baldwin, Lieutenant Samuel.....	3, 4, 7, 8, 19
Baton Rouge.....	9, 12, 18
Bollman, Dr. Erick.....	6, 18
British Frigate.....	14
Burr, Aaron.....	2, 5, 6, 7, 18, 19
"Burr Conspiracy".....	1, 5, 18, 19
Carmick, Major Daniel.....	2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19
Casualties.....	1, 11, 12, 13, 14
Claiborne, Governor William C. C.....	6, 18
Congress.....	5, 7
"Council of War".....	14
Cruise, Lieutenant Laurence.....	7
Decatur, Captain Stephen.....	5, 6
Deposition of Eaton.....	5, 6
Derne, Tripoli.....	5
<u>Diomedes</u> (Intrepid).....	19
<u>Diviana Pastora</u>	20
<u>Duke of Montebello</u> , French schooner.....	19
East Florida, Expedition to.....	1
Eaton, General William.....	5, 6
<u>Enterprise</u> , brig.....	14
<u>Etna</u> , bomb-ketch.....	5, 7, 9, 14
"Excursion".....	10
Forster, Lieutenant Joseph.....	9
Fort Adams.....	3
Fort St. Philip.....	3
Fort St. John.....	8
Fortune, Michael.....	3
<u>Franklin</u> , brig.....	7, 17
Fremont, Colonel, U. S. Army.....	18
French Naval War.....	1
French Privateer.....	11
Gillespie, Lieutenant Archibald.....	18
Gunboats.....	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 18, 20

Hamilton, Paul, Secretary of the Navy.....	10, 12, 15
Hartford.....	16
Hornet.....	4
Hurricane at New Orleans.....	14
Illinois and Indiana Territories.....	11
Insurrection of Negroes and Indians.....	14, 19, 20
Jackson, General.....	13, 15
Jefferson, President.....	2, 6, 7
Jefferson's March.....	2
Lafayette, General.....	6
La Franchise, schooner.....	20
La Sophie.....	20
La Vengeance.....	20
Llewellyn, Lieutenant Samuel.....	3
Louisiana Territory.....	1, 3, 16, 17
Louisiana.....	3
McRea, Major, U. S. Army.....	13
Marine Band.....	2, 3
Marine Guards.....	4, 5, 8, 11, 16, 17
Mediterranean.....	1
Mississippi, British blockade of.....	13
Monroe, James.....	2
Napoleon.....	2, 17
Natchez.....	9
Navy.....	3, 7, 14, 15
"Negro Insurgents".....	10
New Marine Corps.....	1
New Orleans.....	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20
North Africa.....	1
O'Bannon, Lieutenant Presley N.....	5
Old Corps.....	1
Pass of Christian.....	13, 14
Patterson, Commodore Daniel T.....	9, 14, 15
Pirates.....	20
"Point Coupee".....	3
Porter, Captain David, U. S. Navy.....	9
Preble, Commodore.....	5, 6

Recruiting.....	4
Revenge, schooner.....	8
Reynolds, Lieutenant Michael.....	3, 6, 7, 8, 19
Riddle, Lieutenant Robert B.....	12
Rogers, Dr. William.....	2
Santa Maria.....	20
Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton.....	10, 12, 15
Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith.....	3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17
Secretary of War.....	18
Shaw, Captain John, U. S. Navy.....	13, 15, 17, 18
Siren, brig.....	14
Spain.....	1, 6
Status of Marines ashore settled.....	5
Stelle's Hotel.....	2
Superior, brig.....	2
Supplies for Marines.....	3
Swartwout, Samuel.....	7
Syren, brig.....	11
Testimony of Eaton at Court-martial of Burr.....	5, 6
"The Marine Corps Stand as they should".....	6
Thornton, Lieutenant Francis.....	11
Tripolitan War.....	1
Truxton, Commander, U.S. Navy.....	5
U.S.S. <u>Minneapolis</u>	16
U.S.S. <u>Topeka</u>	16
U.S.S. <u>Yankee</u>	16
Vesuvius, bomb-ketch.....	5, 7, 9, 19
Viper, brig.....	14
War of 1812.....	1
Wharton, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Franklin.....	4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 12, 13, 16, 19
Wilkinson, General.....	7, 13, 14, 15

THE BUSY YEARS OF 1807-1812

Chapter XVIII, Volume I,
History of the United States Marine Corps

By

Major Edwin N. McClellan, U.S. Marines
Officer-in-Charge
Historical Section.

First Edition
JULY 31, 1925

FORENOTE

If details concerning the participation of the Navy and Army in any operation or incident described herein do not appear, such omission occurs only because it is impracticable in a history of this character to set forth more than the work of the Marines themselves. To do more than this would extend the history beyond the scope and size planned. In many of the operations described, the Navy or the Army, or both, have been present in greater strength than the Marines, and full credit is here given for their splendid achievements.

The following form of citation is suggested if it is desired to cite, either in published works, or manuscript, any information contained herein:-

(McClellan, Hist., U.S.M.C., 1st ed., I, Chap. 18, p--)

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BUSY YEARS OF 1807-1812.

Affairs both large and small filled the years of 1807 to 1812. War grimly plotting during these years, came out in the open in 1812 and threw our country into the arena with Great Britain; an expedition was sent to East Florida and fought the Indians around St. Augustine; the "Burr Conspiracy," and a belief that war with Spain was at hand, caused a large force of Marines to be despatched to New Orleans from where they participated in some interesting operations on the Gulf and up the Mississippi. These we will pass over, however, for the time being, and devote this chapter to other matters such as the status strength and distribution of the Corps; the notorious attack by John Randolph on the Corps (in which he likened the Washington Barracks to the "Praetorian Camp") and the spirited defense of the Marines on the floor of Congress and in the press. Recruiting, uniforms, and duty performed by the Marines as "President's Troops."

The Charge d'Affaires of the United States to Tunis, died in October, 1806. Second Lieutenant Charles D. Cox¹, commanding the Marines of the Hornet, arriving at Tunis on December 8th, was left there to act as Charge d'Affaires. Tobias Lear, Consul General of the United States to the Barbary Powers, arrived at Tunis on January 13, 1807, on the Constitution,² "with a view to arrange our differences with" Tunis and left on the Seventh of March, having given

Lieutenant Coxé "the appointment of Charge d'Affaires for the United States" at Tunis, with the concurrence of Commodore Campbell, until "the pleasure of the President shall be known relating thereto."³

On May 15, 1808, the Commandant wrote First Lieutenant Coxé, that he was informed that it was the intention of the Government to appoint "for Tunis a Consul," and directed Lieutenant Coxé to return to the United States upon the arrival of the Consul. Lieutenant Coxé, however, continued as Consul so long that it worried the Commandant, and finally the Secretary of the Navy requested him to give up one or the other of his public positions.⁴

Lieutenant Coxé, decided to give up the Marine Corps, offered his resignation which was accepted by Secretary Hamilton for the President on December 23, 1809,⁵ and he received the appointment as Consul to Tunis.⁶⁷

In July of 1807, an incipient mutiny broke out on the Constitution, lying in the Bay of Leghorn, on account of the period of enlistment of most of her crew having long elapsed.⁸ It was quickly quelled, and she soon sailed for home arriving at Boston in October.⁹ In describing this mutiny Commodore Charles Stewart, wrote that it was near becoming serious" but "by the formidable appearance of a column of Marine bayonets, supported by nearly a 100 gallant officers armed, it was not only suppressed, but 20 of the ringleaders were secured and sent home in the ship ironed for punishment."¹⁰

The Fourth of July, 1807, was celebrated at Washington in elaborate style. Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton served on the Committee of Washington citizens appointed to arrange for the celebration. A parade and the "President's Levee," at the White House, were held at which "liberal refreshments" were served to a large company.

The troops paid a "marching salute" to President Jefferson who stood "in the North Portico of his House, attended by the Secretary of War and of the Navy, General Wilkinson, General Mason, Colonel Wharton," of the Marines and several others. "Liberal refreshments" were served and the company were "entertained by the performance of patriotic airs played at regular intervals by the fine band attached to the Marine Corps, which was placed in the large hall, and whose tones, though loud and impressive did not, from the intervening distance, in the least interfere with the conversation." Then came a large dinner at Stelle's Hotel on Capitol Hill, of which Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton was one of the Vice Presidents.¹¹

"Among the interesting circumstances which signalized," the celebration of the Fourth of July "was the first exhibition of the "Eagle which crownsthe Gate of the Navy Yard," which had been erected within the two years preceding. "On each side of the covered part of the gate are quarters for a guard of 50 men and their officers," reported the National Intelligencer, while "a colossal Eagle is placed over the center of the gate." At 10:00 a.m., "the

officers of the Navy and of the Marine Corps" and others, "assembled at the gate, attended by a large concourse of citizens." "The Marine Guard was drawn out and under arms." As the Eagle was unveiled the Marine Band "struck up the ¹²
National tune of Yankee Doodle."

There was a Reception at the President's House on January 1, 1808 and of course the band furnished the music.

A sad reminder of the American Revolution came in the Spring of 1808, when the "Tamany Society of the State of New York" interred the bones of the American Soldiers, Blue-jackets, and Marines "who perished on board of the Jersey Prison Ship at New York during that war. First Lieutenant John Johnson with his Marines performed the military ceremonies "over those relics" after which they were deposited in the vault.¹³

A Marine Barracks was established at Charleston, S.C., in 1808, when First Lieutenant Thomas H. Pinckney, with 22 enlisted men, arrived there from Washington on May 8th, on board the schooner Citizen, and established a Marine Corps post on Sullivan's Island. Lieutenant Pinckney was relieved as commanding officer by First Lieutenant Archibald Henderson, in November, 1809, the detachment at Charleston, S.C., then under Lieutenant Henderson, was moved from Sullivan's Island to Fort Mechanic, Charleston, S.C. Lieutenant Henderson was succeeded by First Lieutenant Robert D. Wainwright, who continued as commanding officer until the post was abandoned in May, 1813.

In October, 1810, Lieut. Henry H. Forde, commanding the Marines of the Wasp, lying at Charleston, S.C., with his Marines assisted in fighting the fire that broke out on October 7th.¹⁴

On September 10, 1811, a tornado, carrying death and desolation in its progress visited Charleston, S.C. It first took effect at Fort Mechanic, situated on the southeast point of the city and passing from thence in a northwest direction, it crossed the town in a direct line to the pond on the north side of Cannon's Bridge. It prostrated the flag staff at Fort Mechanic. There were about twenty killed and many injured.¹⁵

The Fourth of July was enthusiastically celebrated at Washington in 1808. The President received at noon and the occasion was "enlivened by the excellent music of the Marine Corps." Lieutenant Colonel Wharton served on the Committee that arranged for a large dinner at Semme's Tavern in Georgetown. The toasts were drunk "accompanied by appropriate music from an excellent band of performers belonging to the Marine Corps."¹⁶

The New Year's Presidential Reception was held on Monday the 2nd, 1809. All the Army, Navy and Marine officers on duty in Washington and many other guests, were present. The Marine Band with, "music played at intervals" added much to the enjoyment of the distinguished gathering.¹⁷

Parades, dinners, receptions and balls, were the order when James Madison became President March 4, 1809. The Marine Band played at the inauguration and also for a large

reception held at Mr. Madison's Residence, he not having moved to the President's House. In the evening, at Long's Hotel, the Marine Band's stirring strains ushered in the First Inaugural Ball ever held in Washington and Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton and Captain Archibald Henderson¹⁸ were two of the twelve Managers who arranged it. The crowd was excessive, the heat oppressive. The Ball opened at seven O'clock when Thomas Jefferson entered, the Marine Band playing Jefferson's March. As President Madison and "Sweet Dolly" entered, the Band struck up¹⁹ Madison's March. The Marine Band has been a familiar sight at almost every Inaugural Ball held since this first one.

President Madison held a reception at the President's House on July 4, 1809, the guests including all the Army, Navy and Marine Officers in Washington. At 3:00 p.m., a large number of guests sat down to a dinner provided by Mr. Lindsay at the Center Market; which was enlivened by "patriotic airs by the Marine Band of Music."²⁰

The year 1809 brought legislative relief to the Corps.²¹ The Secretary of the Navy, on February 9, 1809, estimated to Congress that the Marine Corps should be augmented by one Major, two Captains, two First Lieutenants, 185 corporals and 594 privates. These estimates called for 4 Sergeants, 171 Corporals, and 684 privates for 171 gun-boats.²² Congress finally agreed with the Secretary and on March 3, 1809, President Jefferson, the day before he left office, approved legislation making these increases.

This Act recreated the grade of "Major" in the Marine Corps, but only after careful consideration, for on February 16, 1809, a motion in the Senate to strike out "one major" was lost 17-10.²³ It had existed from July 11, 1798, to April 22, 1800, when Congress abolished the grade of "Major" and created the grade of "Lieutenant Colonel Commandant." With this increase in personnel there were 46 officers and 1823 enlisted men authorized by law.²⁴

In 1810, a determined effort was made by several representatives in the House, led by John Randolph, to reduce the Naval establishment. A House bill was prepared and among its many provisions was the reduction of "Marine Corps to two companies."²⁵ An amendment "to strike out" this section drew the fire and oratorical wrath of Mr. Randolph on April 25th. In his speeches he referred to the Marine Barracks as that "Pætorian Camp."²⁶ The section was struck out, the vote being 49 to 43. On April 28th, the House by a vote of 48 to 24, agreed to establish the strength of the Corps at four companies. By a vote of 40 to 38 the strength of each company was set at 72 enlisted men. Thus the total enlisted strength of the Corps would have been but 288.²⁷ The bill, however, failed to pass, even the House.²⁸

The Navy and Marine Corps were not without their defenders, both in and out of Congress. Americanus wrote columns in the National Intelligencer refuting Mr. Randolph's every argument. On July 24th, he completely "upset" that gentleman's position on the Marine Corps. In response to a question of Mr. Randolph's: "In what battles are they

[the Marines] engaged?" Americanus wrote: "I reply, are not our Marines always at their post? Have they not participated in every naval engagement? Have they, on any occasion, failed to acquit themselves like brave Americans? Have they not pledged themselves, before the throne of Heaven to defend and protect the Constitution of our country? Have they redeemed that pledge? Do you forget the signal services of the gallant Carmick, of the brave Clinch, in the West Indies? Do you forget the valor displayed, in the Mediterranean by Hall and Johnson especially, and by every Marine officer in that sea, at the time when the gallant Preble boldly engaged, with unequal numbers, and fought and vanquished the foe? You may, I never can, forget these brilliant achievements. My heart yields, to those who performed them, just gratitude; and my tongue shall praise their valor.²⁹

"Such, my countrymen, are the men that Mr. Randolph, at a time when the world is in arms, and we know not how soon we may be called to measure our strength with some mighty foe, would wish to 'break down'! Their character, hitherto pure, patriotic, spotless, has been thus wantonly assailed under the protection of the privileges of a member of Congress! What deed has been done, what sentiment has been uttered, by any one of that Corps, to justify these serious allegations?"²⁹

"Never did more order or better discipline, or more perfect willing obedience to the laws, exist in any military establishment in any country. No American patriot ever

visited that establishment without experiencing high satisfaction. When a committee of Congress inspected that establishment last winter, they unanimously passed upon it all the eulogiums which its best friends could desire. They complimented its Commandant in terms of well-deserved praise. They found everything in order, and could discern no deficiency."²⁹

Fourth of July was made a gala day in Washington in 1811. Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Wharton was a member of a committee of citizens appointed to arrange for the celebration.

"At four o'clock, between two and three hundred citizens assembled on the banks of the Tiber, under a handsome awning prepared for the occasion, where they sat down to a plentiful dinner," and were entertained by "various patriotic airs from the Marine Band of Music."³⁰

During the administration of President Madison, Marine officers were employed many times on confidential service both in Europe and at home. First Lieutenant Samuel Miller was probably used for this duty more than any other officer.³¹ On one occasion he left Washington on July 18, 1810, as a "bearer of despatches" to France³² and sailed on the Hornet.³³ He arrived back in Washington in November of the same year.

In 1810, Captain John R. Fenwick carried dispatches to France. In June, 1810, the John Adams was ordered to England to receive Mr. Pinckney's despatches and to return to France

for Captain Fenwick, who would be charged with the French despatches.³⁴ The John Adams arrived at Annapolis in the middle of June, having sailed from Havre, France, April 24th.³⁵

In November of 1810, Second Lieutenant Alfred Grayson sailed in the Essex with dispatches for Europe.³⁶

First Lieut. John Brooks, "bearer of despatches from France and England," arrived on board the Wasp, at Newcastle, Del., in July, 1812, and arrived in Washington, July 11th. The Wasp had left Cowes, England, and Cherbourg, France, early in June.³⁷

The first Marine Barracks built after the Washington Barracks, were those at the Navy Yard, Washington, D.C.³⁸ Then barracks were built at New York and next at Boston, where the Marines helped to build them.³⁹ Finally barracks were built at Philadelphia, Norfolk,⁴⁰ and New Orleans.⁴¹

Lieutenant-Colonel Wharton was a member of the committee of citizens appointed to arrange for the celebrating of the Fourth of July, 1811, at Washington. "At four o'clock between two and three hundred citizens assembled on the banks of the Tiber, under a handsome awning prepared for the occasion, where they sat down to a plentiful dinner," and were entertained by "various patriotic airs from the Marine Band of Music."⁴²

President Madison held a reception at the White House on New Year's Day, 1812.⁴³

First Lieutenant Lee Massey was drowned on February 7,

1812. He was the son of the Reverend Lee Massey, Rector of "Old Pohick Church," Truro Parish, Fairfax County, Virginia, from 1767 to a few years after the close of the Revolution. The Reverend Massey was a "devoted friend" and confident of George Washington who was a vestryman and church warden of "Old Pohick Church."⁴⁴

On November 26, 1812, President Madison and his Lady were entertained on the Constellation, at Washington. Franklin Wharton, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Marine Corps was one of the Managers that arranged the affair, and caused the Marine Band to be present. Shortly, after this the Constellation dropped down to Norfolk. Mrs. William Seaton wrote that two or three hundred Ladies and Gentlemen enjoyed themselves by gayly dancing to the inspiring strains of the Marine Band.

A ball was held at Tominson's Hotel, Washington, on December 8, 1812 in compliment "to the officers of the Navy" and Marine Corps then in Washington. Major Samuel Miller, the Adjutant of the Corps, was one of the eight Managers and naturally saw to it that the Marine Band was present and did its best.

Headquarters of course was at the Barracks in Washington. Lieutenant Colonel Franklin Wharton, who had succeeded William Ward Burrows on March 7, 1804, continued as Commandant until his death on September 1, 1818. The duties of three staff officers - Adjutant,⁴⁵ Quartermaster⁴⁶ and Paymaster⁴⁷ - continued as before. The non-commissioned staff

consisted of a sergoant major, a quartermaster sergoant, a Drum and Fife Major.⁴⁸

In addition to successfully carrying out the duties incident to his important military position, Lieutenant Colonel Wharton entered enthusiastically in the civilian life of the capital city. An excellent conception of the value that his fellow townsmen placed upon his civic virtue is shown by their selecting him to respond to the toast "The City of Washington" at a dinner in 1812, and of their drinking the following toast to him at the same dinner "Lieutenant-Colonel Wharton - a good citizen will always be a good soldier."⁴⁹ He served on practically all committees of the citizens appointed for various purposes. At many dinners to famous men - such as the one to Captain Meriwether Lewis, when he arrived in Washington after his exploring expedition with Captain Clark.⁵⁰ He was one of the twelve managers of the City Dancing Assemblies.⁵¹ He was a member of the Committee appointed in March, 1811 to establish a "City Library."⁵² He was one of the twelve Managers of the Inaugural Ball in 1809, and frequently responded to toasts as vice-president.

Recruiting during this period brought no new features. Husky men were as usual always needed, and wanted. The enlistment period was changed from three years to five years, unless sooner discharged, by the Act of March 3, 1809. The Commandant had recommended this change on January 1, 1809 in a letter to Secretary of the Navy Pual Hamilton.

On April 22, 1809, the Secretary authorized "to each Marine entered for five years, ten dollars in advance on account of his pay."⁵³ The desirable recruit was the "American citizen," but frequently the rule that excluded all others had to be violated. On November 25, 1811 we read of the Secretary of the Navy directing the Commandant to furnish a guard of Marines for the frigate Congress composed of "all American citizens."

As usual Marines were recruited by the officers commanding the Barracks at Portsmouth, N.H., Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Norfolk, Charleston and New Orleans. Posts were established at other points such as Baltimore.⁵⁴ Rendezvous were also opened temporarily in cities and towns which suggested success in obtaining recruits.

Colonel Wharton was very patient with his recruiters and seldom indulged in sharp language when they fell down. He veiled his criticism in velvet words. For instance on August 17, 1812 he wrote to Captain Anthony Gale, concerning one Baker enlisted by Gale who was "certainly insane," and Colonel Wharton wrote that he would return him to Gale's command in order that Captain Gale might possess "whatever rare qualities you have discovered in him at enlistment." As it happened Baker "speaks not our language," and Colonel Wharton requested Captain Gale "to take no men who speak not English."

The short-term Army enlistment of eighteen months hurt Marine Corps recruiting in August, 1812. The Marines offered

a more attractive bounty than they had ever offered before but it did not draw the recruits as hoped. By regulations of the Navy Department, twenty dollars was allowed for a bounty to recruits, ten dollars of which was paid at enlistment and the remainder when the recruit was mustered at Headquarters. Where mustering at Headquarters was impracticable the recruiting officer used his sound discretion as to when the second ten dollars should be paid.⁵⁵ Outside of Philadelphia and New York, however, the recruiting drive for the War fell short of desired results in 1812.⁵⁶

Marines were allowed to leave the Corps by supplying satisfactory substitutes.

Frequently, and unintentionally, minors were enlisted. When practicable they were released on request of their parents.⁵⁷

Headquarters of the Corps, at Washington, was considered as the school where young officers and recruits were instructed in the various duties which they might be called upon to perform.⁵⁸ Special orders were issued regarding the care that the Marines must take of their muskets.⁵⁹ The privileges of "Navy Hospitals" were extended to the Marines,⁶⁰ and surgeons of the navy or civilian doctors were available at the various barracks to treat the Marines.⁶¹

The duties of the Marines at sea are carefully set forth in a letter dated April 17, 1809 by Lieutenant Archibald Henderson, Commanding at Headquarters, to Second Lieutenant Ichabod Crane, who was under orders to command the Marine

Guard of the United States. They were as follows: "While in Port, to attend to the posting of such sentries, as the commanding officer may deem necessary - to have always in uniform, a guard to receive the commander of the ship to which you are attached, or of any other vessel which may be on the same station with him - When at sea, to see that your men do their duty, as a component part of the after guard. They are never sent aloft and very seldom forward of the gangway - Your duties and your rights will, I suppose, be explained to you by the commanding officer - the first will be easily attended to - the last, are sometimes liable to be infringed on - Should they be so, on making a Report to the Commander of the Vessel, redress will in all probability be obtained and this course, it will always be, the most prudent to adopt.

"To the neatness of your men, particular attention ought always to be paid - As it not only adds respectability to them but conduces in a great degree, to the preservation of their health. Monthly returns are made to the Staff in order that they may be acquainted with the situation of the detachment should circumstances admit. Such are the prominent duties of your command, minor ones, which present themselves from time to time, will be easily attended to."

On August 19, 1811, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton wrote Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton, as follows: "As the detachments from your Corps on ship aboard are liable to contract habits unfavorable to dis-

cipline and destructive of that agility necessary to service on land, you are authorized and required whenever any of our vessels arrive at the Navy Yard in Washington, as often as you may deem proper, to order on shore occasionally to unite with the Corps on days of training and inspection, taking care however at such time to leave competent guards on board. This order is to be considered as extending to the New Orleans station, and you will issue to Major Carmick the requisite instructions on the subject."⁶²

Various kinds of special duty were performed. On October 16, 1811, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton requested the Commandant to send a Marine who understands white-washing "up to white wash my office, as I cannot procure, for the purpose, any of the city workmen, they all being closely engaged." The job was completed in one hour.⁶³ On October 5, 1812, Sergeant James Kelley was ordered with a guard "to the Magazine on the Eastern Branch," Washington, D.C., to guard it. Sergeant Kelley posted two sentinels to prevent anyone approaching it except the keeper of the farm nearby. Tents were set up as the guard remained for quite a period.⁶⁴

The law of the Army and President Madison's regulations for the Army concerning "waiters" were held to apply to the Marine officers. Accordingly Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Wharton and the Major were authorized to have two waiters while officers junior to them ~~were~~ were allotted one each.⁶⁵

Furnishing funeral escorts was a routine duty in the

early day. Captain John R. Fenwick,⁶⁶ commanding the Marine Barracks at Washington in 1810 was one of the earliest "Horse Marines." On September 5th, "on horseback" he led the funeral procession of Major Rodgers.⁶⁷

Major General Thomas Blount, a representative in Congress from North Carolina, was interred with military honors on Sunday, February 9, 1812. The Order of Procession was: 1. "Mourners - preceded by a detachment from the Marine Corps, a file of Dragoons, and a full band of Martial Music."⁶⁸

The first Vice President to die in office was George Clinton, whose death occurred in April, 1812. On the 19th Secretary of the Navy Smith directed the "Marine Corps to attend and render military honors to the memory of the Great Deceased," on the 21st.⁶⁹ The Marine Band was in the order of procession which was led by the Cavalry followed by the Marines.⁷⁰

The Marines headed the funeral procession of Brigadier General Levi Casey of South Carolina in Washington, who died in Washington on February 1, 1807.⁷¹

On April 24, 1809, Lieut-Colonel Commandant Wharton in a letter to Captain John Hall, ordering him to command the barracks at New York, briefly set forth the duties of Navy Yard guards as follows: "Your protection of the public property, when shown to you, by the officer of the Navy commanding at the Yard, or of the squadron on the station, will be fully expected, as far as it is in your power to do; re-

collecting at same time, that no order to regulation of yours in this case, or in any other can possibly interfere with those of the Yard; but that you with your command, must conform to all orders issued or which may be issued for the better government of the same. Applications from either of them, or in their absence, the officer acting, for military aid, as extra sentinels, etc., must be promptly attended to and to avoid difficulties I should recommend, where it is practicable, that written communications, on duty, should be made in preferences to verbal. When the requisitions for detachments of Marines, extend to the squadron on the station, they must be complied with as far as it is possible, keeping complete at the same time, all guards serving on-board of it, either by enlistments, or from your own guard which you will view, when full, as consisting of 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 2 musics and 30 privates. In case this cannot be done, from either, your report on the subject will enable me to supply you from other posts. Further orders to you respecting the command I deem unnecessary - An observation will be sufficient, it is - that an event may take place, which will require the united exertions of all, Naval and Military; such as an attack sudden, and unexpected on the station where you are - in that case, a Navy Yard Guard, could not, with indifference look on, or remain inactive spectators. The idea would do injustice to the officer commanding it, he would assuredly volunteer the services of his command, to the officer in command at the Yard, or, of the squadron."

The status of the Marine Corps was a mooted question. Until 1834, when Congress made it clearly evident that the Marines were part of the Naval Service unless the President expressly ordered them as part of the Army, the Marines were neither "Fish nor Fowl." It seemed to appear that they were part of the Army unless detached for service aboard ship, but at the same time their Commandant was directly under the Secretary of the Navy. The Marines themselves, as a rule, thought that they were under Army laws and regulations when serving ashore.

The matter of "Flogging" brought a decision on this unique jurisdictional subject. By the Act of May 16, 1812 "corporal punishment by stripes or lashes" was done away with in the Army, but it was still permitted in the Navy. So Marines serving on board naval vessels might be punished by flogging but not if serving ashore at a navy yard.⁷²

Lieut. Robert D. Wainwright at Charleston, S.C., became involved with Army officers over their right to issue him orders. On July 29, 1812, Captain Richard Smith commanding in the absence of the Commandant from Washington, wrote Lieut. Wainwright informing him that Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton had directed him to inform Wainwright that Major General Pinckney had the legal power to call on Lieut. Wainwright at all times whenever the General felt that the Country required the aid of the Marines at Charleston, "for the good of the service generally." The attention of Article 62 of the Army Rules and Articles of War which the Secretary

conceived gave the General the "power to command all troops in the service of the United States stationed within his district," was called to Lieutenant Wainwright's attention. However, the Secretary decided that "in no case" could "the Marines be taken out of the jurisdiction of their immediate commanding officer of Marines."⁷³

On August 6, 1812 Lieut. Col. Wharton wrote Lieutenant Wainwright that his appeal had been placed before the Secretary and that while he regretted "the collision which has made necessary this appeal to the proper authority," he would "derive some satisfaction by ascertaining how far we are to be viewed under the orders of the officers of the Army, while acting under the immediate orders of our own Department."⁷³

The decision of the Secretary was made on August 10, 1812 and on the same date the Commandant wrote to Lieutenant Wainwright that he would perceive "that under orders from the Department to which we belong, our services may be afforded to the officers of the Army under particular circumstances, but that we are not subject to their orders, as in some cases it has been supposed."

The Commandant wrote to Lieutenant Wainwright on September 1, 1812, further upon this delicate subject. The Secretary of the Navy directed the Commandant to inform Lieutenant Wainwright that "as he is placed at the Barracks at Hampsted, for the purpose of performing Naval Services, he is not liable to the orders of any Army officer whatsoever,

but that he is to execute such orders as he may receive from the Commanding Naval Officer," and that he was "to inform General Pinckney of this order."⁷³

The unsettled question of jurisdiction bobbed up at the Boston Barracks also. Lieutenant James Broom, commanding the Marine Barracks there had obeyed an order of the Army officer to furnish a guard of Marines for some Army prisoners. On August 23, 1812 Lieut. Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton wrote to Lieutenant Broom, at the Marine Barracks, "Navy Yard, Charlestown," Mass., that he did "not know the authority" by which Lieut. Broom was "ordered" and had obeyed the order "in detaching from the Navy Yard, a guard for prisoners of the Army," but that it would "be proper at all times to cooperate with the Military of our country for the public good, where the particular service in which we are ordered, and which is more or less Naval will not be injured or frustrated thereby." However, wrote the Commandant, "I must consider it voluntarily done and not imperative, as we act under the Department of the Navy, and not of War, unless so specially ordered by the President of the United States." The Commandant informed Lieut. Broom that the Secretary had informed him that the Marines on this duty of guarding Army prisoners would be relieved by the Army and the Marines returned to the Charlestown Navy Yard where they belonged.

At New Orleans, Major Daniel Carmick had jurisdictional troubles with the Army. Major Carmick was a favorite of

General Wilkinson and was given quite important assignments to interesting duty by the General. However, Lieut. Col. Commandant Wharton reluctantly issued the Major orders that limited such "duty under Army officers." On October 1, 1812 he wrote to Major Carmick that "all our officers detached from this for Naval Services, either by sea or land, must consider themselves undoubtedly called on to obey the orders of the Naval Commander on the station, or at sea;" but that it was also "understood that this will not preclude them from aiding and assisting the Army operations where it can be done without injury to such Naval Services on a consultation had with the approval of the Naval Commander." Lieutenant Colonel Wharton believed "that some perfect system will be adopted to the satisfaction of all parties of the Navy. Much is looked for from Congress this winter," and the Commandant thought that "we have a right to expect something for the Corps. The point in dispute must be closed for the good of the service, or I know not what will become of us. We have a right which ought to be known and established to make the Corps what it ought to be. One thing is most certain we cannot belong at the same time to the Department of War and Navy. We were created for the latter, and cannot I conceive, be under the other in any one way, except the immediate order of the President of the United States."

Jurisdictional matters with the Army were not the only questions of this nature that produced uncertainty. The

status of Marines serving in the Navy Yard was also unsettled.

On August 22, 1812 the Commandant of the Marines wrote Lieut. James Broom, at the Boston Barracks regarding the "duties which may be expected" from Broom's Marines "as a guard, and their privileges." Lieut. Col. Commandant Wharton wrote that "so much difficulty having arisen on the rights and privileges of the Sea and Marine officers when acting together on shore and no alternation left," the Commandant had submitted the "business to the Head of the Department for his examination," with the hope that Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton would "direct some system to be formed which, while it will tend to the benefit of the service, may reduce, if not do away, the difficulty which attends both parties."

The Commandant wrote Captain John Hall, commanding the Barracks at New York on August 16, 1812 that he would recommend "that a Lieutenant of Marines be considered afloat, or, on Naval Service, by being placed under" the Commandant of the New York Navy Yard "to command the guard which will always be there furnished" by Captain Hall, and which had always before that "been viewed temporary, but had better now, and in future be permanent."

On September 29, 1812 the Commandant wrote Lieut. Wainwright at Charleston, S.C., that "all our officers detached from this for Naval Services either at sea or on shore, must consider themselves as undoubtedly called on to obey the

orders of the Naval Commanders on the station, or at sea." But can assist Army if Naval Commander consents. The Corps was formed for the Navy and the law fixed a time when we could serve with Army "but it is only when we are so placed by the express orders of the President of the United States."

In this connection it is well to know that the Army Regulations of the year 1812 contain no mention of Marines.

Navy Regulations were issued on January 25, 1802. The same regulations were reprinted and signed in 1809 by Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton.

It will be remembered that the Act of April 10, 1806 provided that Marine and Army officers might be associated on courts-martial for the trial of either Marines or Army personnel. We find Marine officers serving on Army courts-martial. For instance Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton served as a member of the court-martial that tried General Wilkinson in 1811.⁷⁴

It became necessary to court-martial a Marine on Cumberland Island and the question of jurisdiction worrying Captain Williams he wrote the Commandant asking what court-martial could try the man and on January 8, 1812, the Commandant wrote Captain Williams that "Lieut. Colonel Smith [U.S. Army] I presume would on your request cause one to be convened for the occasion."

The authority of the Commandant to convene courts-martial for the trial of his Marines ashore was unquestioned during this period. According to the "Order Book" which

contains many precepts, a "court-martial" consisted of three officers but no recorder was mentioned. A general court-martial generally consisted of the minimum of five officers and a judge advocate usually a civilian. But on February 5, 1807, Lieut. Thomas W. Hooper was ordered as "judge advocate," and on April 4, 1807, Lieut. John R. Fenwick was ordered in the same capacity. ⁷⁵

The punishments adjudged consisted of Lashes to the tap of the drum, reduction in rank, being "drummed out," confinement with "Ball and Chain with hard labor." Running the gauntlet was a method of punishment during our Revolution and appeared again in the Marine Corps in January, 1808, as shown by an entry of January 11, 1808 in the Order book when a deserter was sentenced to "run six times the Gantlope" and was Drummed out. This doubtless was a corruption of the word "gauntlet", as in those days the impress of certain Indian forms of punishment was still fresh, and one pastime of an American Indian had been to start a captive through a double line, or gauntlet, belaboring him to death with war clubs and tomahawks on the way. ⁷⁵

Headquarters of the Corps continued at the Washington Barracks and but few changes were made in the Staff. ⁷⁶

The Act of April 12, 1808 provided that subsistence of Army officers, when not received in kind, would be commuted at the rate of twenty cents a ration. This law, of course was applicable to the Marine Corps.

The old-fashioned uniform persisted in this period. Cocked hats or chapeau bras were worn by the officers and flour was still purchased for powdering the queue and hair of the Marines. Scarlet plumes and sashes, gold counter-straps, gold epaulettes, yellow mounted sabres, white cross-belts with gilt plates, added to a scarlet and blue coat, white trousers and vest, black boots and black silk tassels, is a picture of the Marine officer of the day.⁷⁷ The enlisted Marines were as attractively clad.

Appropriations for the Marine Corps were made in the Annual Naval Appropriation Acts.⁷⁸

The Marine Band continued its interesting career. It was a valuable asset to Washington as a city and was a permanent part of the White House establishment. It never failed to grace every event there of any importance with its music and striking uniforms.⁷⁹

NOTES.
CHAPTER XVIII.

1. Charles Davenport Coxe was born at family Sydney Homestead at Sydney, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, in 1774. He was the son of Charles Coxe the merchant (of Philadelphia) and his wife Rebecca Coxe, nee Wells, of Georgia, whose father was a Colonel in the Revolution. Charles Davenport was a direct descendant of Dr. Daniel Coxe of London, physician to Charles II and Queen Anne, and Col. Daniel Coxe (See Year Book Pa. Soc. of Colonial Gov. I, 150-151) of Trenton and Burlington, Proprietary Governor of West Jersey, and First Grand Master of the Masonic Order in America and the founder of the first Masonic Lodge in this country. Lieutenant Coxe was educated in Philadelphia under private tutors and at nineteen years of age acted as super-cargo in different vessels of his father's fleet, engaged as he was in the West and East India Trade, just the experience that many of the naval officers of the period of our early Navy had. Lieutenant Coxe entered the Corps on November 18, 1805 and was living at Pittston, N.J., when commissioned second lieutenant. It was the influence of Dolly Madison and the President that gratified him in his wish to return to the Barbary Coast as consul to Tunis. He married, while attached to the Hornet, Miss Fortunata Caruana, the daughter of a prominent merchant. It was a very quick courtship for he was only there three days and it would appear from the record that the lady accompanied him to Tripoli, where he was taken on the Hornet. Commodore Stewart was also an intimate at Sydney, which intimacy his son, Charles Stewart, a Chaplain in the Navy, kept up until he died. In modern times, Stockton, Howell, Evans and Kellogg of the Navy were relatives. Admiral John Howell, was the son of Rebecca Coxe Howell, (the daughter of a brother Richard Coxe, of my grandfather) the Lieutenant and Admiral Robley Evans, was the nephew and adopted son of Matilda Coxe Evans, a daughter of the same Richard Coxe; a brother of the Lieutenant Commander Kellogg was the husband of Elizabeth Coxe Evans, a daughter of the aforesaid Matilda Coxe Evans. So the Coxe family has been quite intimately associated with the American Navy from its infancy to the present time. Lieutenant Coxe renewed his acquaintance with General Lafayette on his second visit in 1825 when he was received at Trenton. The General at that reception took his daughter, my mother, who was one of the little girls who strewed flowers in his pathway, on his knee and kissed her as a "gentleman should." He presented Mrs. Coxe, the consul's wife, as was then the vogue, with a lock of his hair. One winter he spent in Washington with

1. (Continued)

Mme. Coxe and it was then they became very great friends of President Madison and his celebrated consort "Dolly Madison" as she was affectionately called. The Lieutenant and Consul had a symmetrical figure, was graceful in carriage and dignified in manner, resolute in enforcing discipline when necessary. Relaxed and social in intercourse with friends, he was devoted and lovable as husband and father, hospitable and likable with his intimates whom he welcomed to his roof. He died in office, at Tunis, in the fall of 1830 and was buried in what was known at the time as The Protestant Cemetery. His widow and family, after visiting in La Valletta, Malta, Hyeres and Marseilles, sailed from there to America and arrived early the next year in New York. Mme. Coxe died in 1856. Mme. Coxe's remains were interred in her family plot situated near Dale Water, in Greenwood Cemetery, in Brooklyn, N.Y. (From letter of John Coxe Caruana of Oakland View, Woodhaven, L.I., N.Y., to Major McClellan, 27 November, 1923).

2. Her Marine officer was First Lieutenant William Armory.

3. Coxe to Wharton, March 8, 1807.

4. On June 15, 1809, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton, wrote Lieut. Charles D. Coxe, Tunis, as follows: Your long absence is complained of by the officers of the Marine Corps - especially those junior to you in rank. They allege that as you have not been in Service for years and they have been in almost constant Service, you ought now to be called on duty - or you ought not to continue to command them - an equal participation in Service and in indulgence is unquestionably a correct military principle which ought to be adhered to as far as circumstances will permit, and it appears to me that the Officers have complained not without sufficient cause. I have therefore to require of you to inform me whether it is your determination to remain at Tunis or not. If you should determine to remain, it will be proper for you to transmit to me the resignation of your appointment as a Lieutenant in the Marine Corps - and if you should prefer holding your military commission, you will return immediately to the United States and report yourself to the Commanding Officer of the Marine Corps; (Navy Let. Bk. Mar. Off., I); On his arrival "with you, the Consular duties to which you have been attending must cease, and of course your stay will be unnecessary * * * embark for this country * * * may return to your military duty here." These words are merely "preparing you for the event"; Nat. Intell., February 10, 1808 contains a letter of C.D. Coxe, Consul at Tunis dated November 5, 1807, warning that Algiers had declared war against U.S.; See also Id., February 15, 1808.

5. On December 23, 1809 Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton wrote the Commandant that he had "yesterday received the resignation of Lieut. Coxe of the Marine Corps which you will inform him is accepted."
6. Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 98.
7. The Daily Nat. Intell., of Wash. of November 11, 1825 contains the following "appointments by the President;" Samuel D. Heap, of Pennsylvania, to be consul of the United States for the City and Kingdom of Tunis, in place of Charles D. Coxe, transferred to Tripoli. Charles D. Coxe, of New Jersey, to be consul of the United States for the City and Kingdom of Tripoli, in place of Thomas D. Anderson.
8. Hollis', Constitution, 120; Durand, 59 et seq.
9. Allen, Our Navy and Barbary Corsairs, 272-273.
10. Charles Stewart, March 8, 1830 to Secretary of the Navy; Amer. St. Pap., III, 566.
11. Nat. Intell., July 8, 1807.
12. Among the interesting circumstances which signalized the celebration of our national festival, was the first exhibition of the Eagle which crowns the gate of the navy yard. This gate has been erected within the last two years. It is constructed of free-stone, & is one of the handsomest buildings belonging to the United States, and one of the best ornaments of our city. It is from the design of Mr. Latrobe, Surveyor of the public buildings, and possesses in the highest degree that chaste spirit of Graecian simplicity and character of permanence which distinguish his works. The access to the yard is by a doric colonnade, of eight columns, which leads to a magnificent arch, through which the carriages pass on to the parade. On each side of the covered part of the gate are quarters for a guard of 50 men and their officers. A colossal eagle is placed over the centre of the gate, sculptured in one block of free stone. It is independently of its pedestal 5 feet 6 inches high. The eagle is represented at the moment of preparation for flight. His right foot is elevated and rests on the shanks of an anchor. The attitude and action of this majestic bird are inimitably spirited, while at the same time its form and characteristic structure is scrupulously correct, and exhibits an exact observation of nature. It does Mr. Franzoni high honor. The eagle had been put into its situation the preceding day, and a flag staff set up behind it. The figure was covered from view by a large ensign; and remained so till the morning of this day. At ten, the officers of the Navy, and of the

12. (Continued)

Marine Corps, and the artificers of the yard assembled at the gate, attended by a large concourse of citizens. The guard was drawn out and under arms. The firing of the first guns of a federal salute gave the signal and the ensign being instantly hoisted displayed at once the Naval Eagle of America, while the band struck up the National tune of Yankee Doodle. The gate is we understand, to be further decorated by sculpture from the masterly chisels of Messrs. Franzoni and Andrei, two Italian gentlemen, who have for some time been engaged as sculptors in the public works here, and who having settled with their families among us, promise to introduce a taste for the fine arts of their classical works in the public buildings of the United States. (Nat. Intell.).

13. Johnson to Wharton, March 31, 1808; See also Note of Chapter IV.

14. Forde to Greenleaf, Marine Corps Archives.

15. Nat. Intell., September 21, 1811. Gunboat No. 1 "in a hurricane in South Carolina was driven nearly a mile into the woods." (Janson, Stranger in America, 210-211, but the date is indefinite).

16. Nat. Intell., June 27, July 6 and 11, 1803.

17. Nat. Intell., January 4, 1809.

18. Nat. Intell., March 1, 1809; See Wash. Star, March 21, 1925 for description of Inaugural Ball of President Washington in New York.

19. Nat. Intell.; See also Margaret Bayard Smith, A Winter in Washington or Memoirs Seymour Family, II, 209-304; Century Mag., March, 1905; Hunt, First Forty Years; Washington Society, 60; Wash. Star, March 21, 1925.

20. Nat. Intell.

21. On December 2, 1807, the actual strength of the Marine Corps was 26 officers and 722 enlisted men, distributed as follows: Headquarters, 10 officers, 152 men; Boston, 2 officers, 49 men; New York, 2 officers, 46 men; Philadelphia, 2 officers, 28 men; Norfolk, 2 officers, 44 men; Baltimore, 1 officer, 22 men; New Orleans, 2 officers, 45 men; Constitution, 1 officer, 51 men; Chesapeake, 2 officers, 52 men; Wasp, 1 officer, 23 men; Hornet, 1 officer, 18 men; Revenge, 12 men; New York Flotilla, 95 men; Norfolk Flotilla, 85 men. The Secretary estimated in this month that it

21. (Continued)

would require 54 officers and 1,619 Marines to adequately care for Marine Corps duties: Included in the estimates were 200 watch coats, 35,000 flints, and \$150.00 for "flour for hair powder." The statutory strength on this date was 41 officers and 1,044 men. (Amer. St. Pap., Nav. Aff., I, 170-175); On December 7, 1808, the Secretary of the Navy reported to Congress that the Marine Corps required 144 corporals and 162 privates in addition to its strength, to properly perform the duties assigned to it. Then on December 16, 1808, he informed Congress that there should be added to the Marine Corps strength, 2 captains, 9 First Lieutenants, 2 Second Lieutenants, 4 Sergeants, 191 Corporals and 659 Privates. (Amer. St. Pap., Nav. Aff., I, 185-186); In 1809 the actual strength of the Corps was 35 officers and 943 men. They were located as follows: Washington, 14 officers, 155 men; New Orleans, 3 officers, 160 men; New York, 1 officer, 33 men; Boston, 1 officer, 33 men; Philadelphia, 1 officer, 44 men; Norfolk, 1 officer, 39 men; Baltimore, (Gunboats at), 8 men; Charleston, S.C., (Gunboats at) 1 officer, 32 men; Constitution, 2 officers, 57 men; President, 2 officers, 57 men; United States, 1 officer, 57 men; Chesapeake, 2 officers, 49 men; Essex, 1 officer, 36 men; John Adams, 1 officer, 30 men; Wasp, 1 officer, 21 men; Hornet, 1 officer, 25 men; Argus, 18 men; Siren, 1 officer, 24 men; Vixen, 14 men; Ferret, 14 men; Nautilus, 17 men; Enterprise, 15 men; and Revenge, 5 men; a total of 35 officers and 943 enlisted men. In December, 1811, the number of Marines, exclusive of commissioned officers, was 1,823. (Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1320).

22. Amer. St. Paper, Nav. Aff., I, 192.

23. Nat. Intell., March 8, 1809; An. of Congress, IX, 210, 240, 347, 388, 411, 415.

24. Amer. St. Paper, Nav. Aff., I, 192.

25. Nat. Intell., April 27, 1810.

26. Nat. Intell., July 27, 1810; Nav. Inst. Proc., XXXII, 1313; An. of Congress, XXI, Pt. 2, 1978-1981; Mr. Randolph said: "It was indeed facetiously urged in the select committee, as a reason why these men [Marines] should be retained, that they came to this House regularly on Sundays, to serve the Lord - to assist at the weekly pageant here performed." (Id.)

27. Nat. Intell., May 2, 1810; An. of Congress, XXI, 1978-1979.

28. Annals of Congress, XXI, 1981-1982.
29. Nat. Intell., July 27, 1810.
30. Nat. Intell.
31. Frequently Marine officers were detailed on missions of various sorts but owing to their confidential nature it is difficult to secure enough information from the archives to describe them. For instance on February 25, 1812, the Commandant informed the Secretary of the Navy that "agreeably to" his order First Lieutenant Samuel Miller had been directed "to prepare and report himself for the duty mentioned." Lieutenant Miller did report on this date. As gleaned from a letter of the Commandant to the Secretary of the Navy dated February 26, 1812, Miller proceeded "westward" on a mission after stopping at Philadelphia for some intermediate purpose. Then "New York" was substituted for "Philadelphia." Miller in the meantime taking a short furlough. On July 3, 1812, Lieut. Miller was directed by the Commandant to "proceed to the eastward and put into effect the object for which you have been detached," etc.; "During the administration of Mr. Madison, I was repeatedly employed to confidential service, both in Europe and at home." (Miller to President, December 30, 1836).
32. Wharton to Wainwright, October 31, 1810.
33. "You are to receive the despatches with which the Honbl., the Secretary of State will intrust you and will immediately proceed to New York and take passage on board the Hornet, Capt. Hunt for France. Capt. Hunt is instructed to land you at the Port of Havre, whence you are to proceed to Paris and deliver your despatches. Capt. Hunt having positive orders to sail on his return home by the 1st of October, you will take care to be at Havre at furthest by the last of September, where he will receive you - in this you are not to fail and you will on your arrival at Paris apprise our minister of these orders from which you are not at liberty to depart." (Hamilton to Miller, July 18, 1810; Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 96); "The U.S. Brig Hornet which has lately sent to Europe with messengers to our ministers in France and England, has returned, having had a stormy passage, during which they were compelled to throw overboard several of her guns. Lieutenants Miller and Spence, who were sent out as messengers, have arrived in" Washington. (Nat. Intell., November 13, 1810).
34. Nat. Intell., April 4, 1810.

35. On December 6, 1809 Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton wrote Fenwick: "You will receive from the Secretary of State his despatches for our minister at Paris - and having received them you will proceed to New York, take passage in the ship John Adams." (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 87).
36. Wharton to Parker, November 3, 1810; Wharton to Sec. Navy, November 1, 1810; See Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 107; On October 31, 1800 Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton wrote to Col. Wharton "A messenger to carry despatches to Europe is required and I am disposed to send a Lieut. of Marines. Could Lieut. Grayson be spared?".
37. Muster Rolls, February, 1812; Nat. Intell., July 14, 1812; Nat. Intell., July 16, 1812.
38. Commdt. to Lt. Brooks, May 29, 1811; On June 5, 1810 Secretary of the Navy wrote to Col. Wharton as follows: It has been determined to erect at the Navy Yard at New York, barracks for the accommodation of 150 to 200 men, and at Boston Barracks for the accommodation of 100 to 150 men. For the purpose of effecting these important objects in a manner best suited to the purpose, for which they are intended, and upon the most economical terms, I have to direct, that you proceed to these places for the purpose of making every requisite arrangement as to the Contracts for completing them, the sites on which to erect them and the design of the buildings. With respect to the sites you will consult with the commanding Naval Officers. Any bricks or other materials in either of these Yards that may not be wanted for naval purposes may be used in the erection of these barracks. You will not expend for both these Barracks a Sum exceeding \$8000. It is indeed hoped that with your good management & well known economy, you will be able to complete them for a less Sum. I give you these orders now, that you may have time to consult with practical men as to the design of these buildings - about the 1st of the ensuing month, you will proceed hence to execute these instructions. (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 93).
39. In a letter to Captain James Thompson, commanding the Marines at Boston, dated October 14, 1810, the Commandant gave the Captain some detailed instructions relative to the building of the barracks, covering very thoroughly the construction of the roof, glazing, inside work, window frames, basement, plastering, etc., and stated that "at New York I have directed a second story to be put to the building there. I do not wish,

39. (Continued)

as those at Boston were undertaken at the same time, that they should be inferior, you must therefore have the story added to both wings." The Commandant in this letter also gave directions as to draining the ground around the barracks and remarked that "during the winter, I will detach the carpenters for your command." The Commandant evidently appreciated the willingness with which the Marines worked on their barracks, for on November 15, 1810, in a letter to Captain Thompson, at Boston, he remarked that "your men are deserving of much credit in giving so much aid by labor. The comforts of their new quarters will, I trust, in some way compensate them for their conduct." And again in a letter dated December 19, 1810, he stated, "I am much gratified in your report on the state of the buildings--their progress has been beyond my expectation. I had no idea of their being in such a forward way for the reception of the guard." In a letter to First Lieut. John Brooks, then commanding at Boston, dated December 31, 1810, the Commandant directed that he "must keep the mechanics of the guard--I mean carpenters employed during the winter in making doors, sashes, etc., for the buildings, or any other things which will be necessary for their completion." On February 25, 1811, the Commandant again wrote Lieutenant Brooks, that inasmuch as the men had "no extraordinary duty to perform, you must have their services fully in every way; therefore, that you can to complete the barracks and to prepare that work which they cannot undertake, which I presume must be plastering and glazing only." That the Marines accomplished a considerable amount of work at little expense to the Government in their "barracks building program" is evidenced by a letter from the Commandant to Lieutenant Brooks, in which he stated that "the extent to which you carry the \$500 will be to me very pleasing as I assure the expenditure has been very considerable and far beyond my ideas intended for your station--so much so that I have delayed the recommendation for building barracks either at Philadelphia or Norfolk, that I might certainly know the sums necessary for York and Boston." In this letter the Commandant showed a detailed knowledge of the Boston post by the minute instructions he gave for the construction of a parade ground. On October 13, 1810, Captain Thompson reported to the Commandant that the walls were up and ready for the roof. According to a letter from the Commandant to Lieut. Brooks, May 29, 1811, the first Marine Barracks built were those at the Navy Yard, Washington. After the barracks at the Washington Navy Yard barracks were built at New York and next at Boston; then barracks were built at Philadelphia and Norfolk.

39. (Continued)

The Commandant carried on a correspondence with Captain James Thompson, commanding at Boston, regarding the barracks being built there writing on November 15, 25, December 19 and 31, 1810; On February 25, 1811 the Commandant wrote Lieutenant Brooks, then commanding at Boston, that he was glad to hear that he was in the barracks.

40. Commdt. to Lt. Brooks, May 29, 1811.

41. In the fall of 1812 the barracks at New Orleans were partially destroyed by a devastating storm and while it would have been desirable to build new barracks the only authority granted was to repair the old building. (Wharton to Carmick, October 1, 1812).

42. Nat. Intell.

43. Nat. Intell., January 2, 1812.

44. D.A.R. Mag., February, 1924, 78, which also publishes a likeness of Lieut. Massey.

45. First Lieutenant John R. Fenwick, who had been appointed Adjutant on January 1, 1804, was relieved by First Lieutenant Rankin, the Quartermaster, who, in addition to his duties as Quartermaster, acted as Adjutant from June 12, 1805 until September 1, 1805. First Lieutenant Michael Reynolds was appointed Adjutant on September 2, 1805 but resigned the appointment on May 31, 1806, being succeeded by First Lieutenant John R. Fenwick, who was reappointed to the office on July 1, 1806. First Lieutenant John Johnson was appointed Adjutant on January 1, 1809 as the relief of Lieutenant Fenwick and served in the office until he was relieved by First Lieutenant Archibald Henderson, who served until April 30, 1809. First Lieutenant Samuel Miller then became Adjutant being appointed on May 15, 1809.

46. First Lieutenant Robert Rankin, who had been appointed Quartermaster on January 1, 1804, was succeeded by First Lieutenant Thomas W. Hooper, who was appointed on November 10, 1806. First Lieutenant John Williams became the next Quartermaster, being appointed March 1, 1807, and served until relieved by First Lieutenant Joseph Woodson, who was appointed on March 11, 1811. The next regular Quartermaster was First Lieutenant Samuel Bacon who assumed office on September 1, 1813. However, for a short period prior to this date Lieutenant Crabb, acted as Quartermaster in addition to his duties as Paymaster.

47. First Lieutenant James Thompson, who had been appointed Paymaster on April 20, 1799, served in the office until about December 16, 1806. First Lieutenant Robert Greenleaf was then appointed Paymaster by the Commandant on January 1, 1807, as the successor of First Lieutenant James Thompson. During a period of sickness of Lieutenant Greenleaf, the Commandant, appointed First Lieutenant John Crabb as Acting Paymaster on December 16, 1809. On the return of Lieutenant Greenleaf to duty as Paymaster on February 14, 1810, Lieutenant Crabb was appointed "Assistant Paymaster," and acted as such until March 11, 1811, when he received the appointment as Paymaster. Prior to the Act of March 16, 1802, the Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant received \$75.00 per month as pay and six rations per day. After the approval of that Act he continued to receive these emoluments but in 1807 a doubt rose as to whether the above emoluments were legal or \$60.00 a month pay and five rations a day were not the proper figures. The Accountant of the Navy Department on February 7, 1807 wrote to Gabriel Duvall expressing this doubt. (Navy Let. Bk., Misc. and Captains' Letters, No. 17); An order of the Secretary of the Navy dated June 18, 1811, stated that the rule that the Adjutant should "examine, enter and certify, the pay rolls, you will consider as hereby expunged. The Paymaster alone is responsible for all monies placed in his hands," and the Adjutant need only certify that "the men paid are actually mustered." Then on May 28, 1812, the Secretary of the Navy ordered that "the Adjutant of the Marine Corps will certify that the men on the pay rolls of the Paymaster, correspond with the men on the records of his office, or his musters." In October, 1810, the Secretary of the Navy ordered an officer about to proceed to New Orleans, in advance of \$150.00. On June 12, 1812, the Secretary of the Navy directed "an advance of three months' pay be the rule and not exceeded at any time." Advances to officers leaving Headquarters "for service."

48. Owing to incomplete returns, missing muster rolls, etc., the records during the period shortly after the organization of the Marine Corps in 1798 do not show all the Noncommissioned Staff Officers. Sergeant Major Alexander Forest was appointed January 1, 1803. Archibald Summers, who enlisted June 3, 1799 was promoted Sergeant Major June 1, 1801, and discharged June 1, 1802. David Hutchins was made Quartermaster Sergeant June 1, 1803 and was carried on the Headquarters muster rolls for August, 1804 as such, and again in December, 1804. He was discharged November 27, 1805 as Quartermaster Sergeant. Quartermaster Sergeant James McKim was promoted to that grade on December 3, 1805, and served until March 24, 1814.

49. Early in August, 1812 a public dinner was given to Captain John Cassin, U.S. Navy in Washington. He was leaving Washington to assume command of the Gosport Navy Yard. Many toasts were drunk as the Marine Band played. Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton, proposed the toast "The City of Washington." After Lt. Col. Wharton had retired, the following toast was drunk to him; "Lieutenant Colonel Wharton - a good citizen will always be a good soldier." (Nat. Intell., August 8, 1812).
50. On January 14, 1807, at Washington an elegant dinner was given to Captain Meriwether Lewis by the citizens of Washington. Robert Brent, who presided, was "supported by Captain Tingey and Colonel Wharton, as Vice Presidents." (Nat. Intell., January 16, 1807).
51. A meeting of citizens at Davis' Hotel, Washington, chose twelve Managers for the "City Assemblies" and among that member was Lieut. Col. Commandant Franklin Wharton. (Nat. Intell., November 27, 1810).
52. Actuated by these motives of morality and economy, subscription papers for a Washington library were circulated through the city of Washington and the adjacent country by a committee that included Robert Brent, Wm. Cranch, John Law, Lieut. Col. Commandant Franklin Wharton of the Marines, and about two hundred subscriptions received. (Nat. Intell., March 5, 1811; Bryan, Hist. Nat. Cap., I, 520).
53. See also Wharton to John Hall, April 24, 1809.
54. On August 27, 1810, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton, directed Capt. John R. Fenwick, commanding at the Marine Barracks of Washington, to station at Baltimore a guard of Marines to consist of 1 sergeant, 1 corporal and 5 privates. (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 101).
55. Wharton to Smith, November 25, 1812, for enlistment of minors, See Perkins, Hist. Sketches of the War, 146-148; discharge by substitute (Muster Roll, Marine Barracks, New York, March, 1813; Let. January 20, 1815); for advances to recruits, See Letters, February 19, 1813, February 15, 1813, February 21, 1815; "As the recruiting for the Marine Corps has been frustrated by the greater inducements held out to the Army," etc. (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 197, Secretary of the Navy to Wharton, March 14, 1814).
56. Wharton to Carmick, August 31, 1812.
57. Wharton to John Hall; November 21, 1812; See also Wharton to John Hall, February 6, 1814.

58. In an order dated September 6, 1808, the Commandant stated that "Headquarters of the Marine Corps at Washington considered as the school where young officers and recruits are to be instructed in the various duties which they may be called upon to perform, it is expected that in future the Commanding or Senior officer in Barracks, will order such Parades as he may think necessary to insure the same, exclusive of these already ordered; and that he will require the attendance of such officers on them, as he may think proper." An order issued on September 19th, 1807, by Captain Daniel Carmick, commanding at Headquarters at the time, prescribed "That the young officers may be made familiar with that part of their duty connected with the marchings, wheelings, forming and reducing of divisions, and such simple maneuvers. As the number of men will admit of, it is ordered that the daily men for parade be under arms three quarters of an hour every morning before Roll Call, when the young officer will repair to be instructed in such maneuvers as the adjutant may think proper to perform. The Commanding Officer recommends to them to lose no time in perfecting themselves in the manual exercise, as it is uncertain how soon they may be ordered on command."

59. Under dated of August 14, 1811, the Commandant issued the following order: "to prevent the great injury often done to the musket by permitting the Privates to take to pieces and clean their own arms. It is hereby ordered that in future, no private will be allowed to take apart his musket, but in presence of a non-commissioned officer of his squad, who, is made answerable for all injuries occasioned by a neglect of the above duty."

60. An Act of Congress approved February 26, 1811; provided for "navy hospitals," among other things it was provided that "all fines imposed on navy officers, seamen and Marines, shall be paid to the commissioners of navy hospitals;" that "the commissioners are required at once of the establishments to provide a permanent asylum for disabled and decrepit navy officers, seamen and Marines;" and "that when any navy officer, seamen, or Marine, shall be admitted into a navy hospital, that the institution shall be allowed one ration per day during his continuance therein, to be deducted from the account of the United States x x x and in like manner when any officer, seamen or Marine, entitled to a pension, shall be admitted into a navy hospital, such pension during his continuance therein shall be paid to the commissioners of the navy hospitals, and deducted from the account of such pensioner."

61. John Harrison, Surgeon's Mate attending Marine Barracks on February 3, 1812, requested the Commandant "for the better accomodation of the sick under your command I would be pleased to recommend a Matron to be appointed to cook and wash for those in hospital." The Secretary of the Navy authorized Wharton "to employ a Matron and a steward at his discretion."
62. Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 124-125.
63. Navy and Marine Corps Archives.
64. Secretary of the Navy to Wharton, October 5, 1812; Wharton to Kelly, October 5, 1812; Marine Corps Archives.
65. In this connection see Act of March 16, 1802 that allowed one additional ration to every officer keeping a servant not a soldier of the line; See also Act of July 6, 1812, Regulations, War Department; 1812 allowed Colonels, 3 waiters; Lieutenant-Colonels, 2; Major, 2; Captains and Lieutenants, 1, and also provided regulations for rations of waiters. Act of March 30, 1814 allowed a Colonel, 2 waiters; Lieutenant Colonel, 1; officers of each company, 3; staff officer, 1; officer commanding separate post, 1. Also that no soldier to be employed as servant.
66. General Fenwick was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and from a note contained in Major Garden's "Notices of Incidents," it appears that he was an infant at the time of his evacuation of Charleston during the Revolutionary War. His life was preserved at this critical juncture in the history of his country by a female relative. He was early in life distinguished for his literary acquirements, having received his education in England, where the greatest attention was paid for his studies. Fired with a spirit of patriotism so common in the men of his day, on the 10th of November, 1799, he entered the service of his country as Lieutenant of Marines, which post he held with great credit and honor until the year 1810, when he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of Light Artillery. On the 18th of March, 1813, he was breveted as Colonel for his "gallant conduct on the Niagara frontier." At the memorable battle on Queenstown Heights, in Canada, in the year 1812, this distinguished soldier lost an eye, and was otherwise horribly wounded. So great was the injury sustained by him on that occasion that great fears were for a while entertained of his recovery. In the reduction and reorganization of the Army in 1822 he was assigned to the command of the 4th Regiment of Artillery as Colonel, then stationed at Pensacola, Florida. On the 18th of March, 1823, he

66. (Continued)

was breveted as Brigadier General. He died the 19th of March, 1842 at Marseilles, France, whither he had gone for the improvement of his health. On his way from Paris to that place he took a severe cold, which induced apoplexy. He now "sleeps the sleep of the dead" in a foreign country, far removed from the land of his birth, and scenes of his noble daring and manly exploits; but his name, intimately interwoven with the glory and history of his country, shall endure as long as the torch of liberty remains unquenched, and men continue to revere and hallow the name of the brave. (Nat. Intell., April 29, 1842); "Your letter of the 27th inst., has been received and for the friendly and respectful observations which it contains as relating to me, I tender you my sincere thanks. In personal regard and estimation I feel a reciprocation with you. Your determination to resign your Commission in the Marine Corps is a cause of regret to me; and what is more important a consideration, it is contrary to the wishes of the President of the United States. The decided tone of your letter renders it unnecessary for me to repeat what I said to you in our late conversation; yet, sir, I will remark that appreciating as I do your honorable sentiment and feeling, on a calm and earnest review of every circumstance, I cannot perceive that you have sufficient cause for the determination you have made to resign. In making this remark, I trust that my excuse will be found in that candor which you have been so just as to recognize. Whatever may be your future pursuits, I beg you to believe that they will not be indifferent to me. The first I am sure will be honorable; and the latter I hope and sincerely wish may conduce to your happiness and fame." (Secretary of the Navy Hamilton to Fenwick, March 29, 1811; Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 115); The resignation of Captain John R. Fenwick was accepted with extreme regret by Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton on April 1, 1811. Captain Fenwick resigned entered the Army, in which he rose to General rank and served with great distinction and was wounded during the War of 1812. (100)

67. Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 102.

68. Nat. Intell., February 11, 1812.

69. Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 144; Paul Hamilton to Wharton.

70. Nat. Intell., April 21, 1812.

71. Nat. Intell., February 6, 1807.

72. Order of Secretary of the Navy, June 6, 1812; Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 152.
73. Marine Corps Archives.
74. Greenleaf to Carmick, October 15, 1811; Nat. Intell., September 14, 1811.
75. Marine Corps Order Book; Bolton, Private Soldier under Washington, 174-176, describes the punishments inflicted during the Revolution as follows: "a soldier marching from the guard-house to the gallows with a halter about his neck, and from there running the gauntlet through the brigade. Usually the brigade was drawn up in two lines to form a narrow lane (sometimes half a mile in length), through which the culprit had to pass to receive the lashing from switches held by the men. If he was unpopular he fared ill; if he was liked by his comrades and was fleet of foot he suffered but little. To make the gauntlet a serious penalty a soldier was ordered to point his bayonet at the guilty man's breast and back slowly down between the lines so that progress could not be too rapid for adequate punishment. This ingenious device served to lay the victim on his bed for days. At Ticonderoga a band of mutinous sailors ran a species of maritime gauntlet; they were sentenced to receive seventy-eight lashes each, 'the criminals to be whip'd from vessel to vessel receiving Part of their Punishment on Board of each.'"
76. First Lieutenant John R. Fenwick was relieved as Adjutant January 1, 1809 and in turn was succeeded by First Lieutenant Archibald Henderson exactly one month later. Lieutenant Henderson gave way to First Lieutenant Samuel Miller, who served as Adjutant for many years. First Lieutenant John Williams relieved First Lieutenant Thomas W. Hooper as Quartermaster on March 1, 1807. Second Lieutenant Joseph Woodson served from March 11, 1811 until relieved by First Lieutenant Samuel Bacon on September 1, 1813. First Lieutenant Robert Greenleaf served as Paymaster from January 1, 1807 (relieving Lieutenant Thompson) to March 11, 1811 when he was succeeded by First Lieutenant John Crabb, who was relieved by Second Lieutenant Robert M. Desha on April 30, 1817.
77. The following order was issued by the Commandant on June 9, 1809: "In future cocked hats will be worn in lieu of the round, by officers for the summer establishment and a laced Diamond, on blue ground - instead of the Foul Anchor, will be placed on the skirts of their uniform coats: and it is directed

77. (Continued)

that from and after the 10th instant the troops appear (when on duty) agreeable to the summer establishment, until further orders."

The estimates computed in December, 1807 included \$150.00 for "flour for hairpowder."

The following order was issued by Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton.

On April 19, 1810 to collect and present to view the different orders for the uniform of the Corps, the following by command of the Secretary of the Navy, in repealing all others, must be considered as fully established and strictly attended to. The following dress will be the uniform of the Marine Corps:
Officers - Navy blue coat, buttons across the breast, with two rows of Navy buttons, eight on each side, the button-holes laced and brought to a point on the center thus three buttons on the sleeves laced in the same manner; the pockets with three buttons placed and with lace similar to the sleeves; the collar of scarlet, with two buttons on each side laced; laced cuffs scarlet, the skirts turned up with scarlet and two laced diamonds on blue ground on each thus the lappels of the coat lined with scarlet and three button-holes laced on each side, this however not to be seen when on duty in winter. Vest and pantaloons white; cocked hats or chapeau-bras with gold langloop and navy button under the cockade, the cockade of leather thus described the hat to be worn over the right eye with gold tassels from the sides. Scarlet plumes; the hair queued and powdered. The officers when in full uniform are to wear a scarlet sash round the waist outside the coat and over the belt tied on the left side and over the left thigh. Black boots to the knee and black silk tassels. Black leather stock when on duty.

The Officers Grades are to be designated in the following manner:

A Colonel, two gold epauletts, one on each shoulder.

A Major, two gold epauletts one on each shoulder.

A Captain, a gold epaulett on the right shoulder and a gold counter strap.

A First Lieut. A gold epaulett on the right shoulder.

A Second Lieut. A gold epaulett on the left shoulder.

The Staff to wear a gold epaulett and counter strap embroidered on blue cloth. Side Arms - Yellow mounted sabres with gilt scabbards and white cross belts with gilt plates. The uniforms of Marines to be a coatee single breasted, one row of buttons, yellow worsted binding on each side, the extreme ends of which represent a half diamond thus white cloth pantaloons with black cloth gaiters to the knee. Linen overalls in summer, high crowned caps, without a brim and a

77. (Continued)

plume of red plush on its front with a brass eagle and plate. Hatband of yellow cord with a tassel of the same color. Sergeants to wear leather cockades on the left side of the hat with scarlet plumes. On September 24, 1812 Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton wrote to Navy Agent George Harrison at Philadelphia, stating he was sorry to hear Mr. Harrison "speak of \$8.75 pair for blankets," and that "a little patience" would bring them lower. (Marine Corps Archives).

78.

ACT	Pay and Subsistence	Clothing & Mil. Stores	Q.M. Dept. & Contingent, etc.	Total
Jan. 7, 1807	: 78,678.30	: 14,920.00	: 9,295.00	: 102,893.30
Feb. 10, 1808	: 160,131.90	: 39,587.80	: 16,035.00	: 215,754.70
Mar. 3, 1809	: 135,647.70	: 34,287.80	: 16,125.00	: 186,060.50
Mar. 2, 1810	: 140,121.40	: 39,793.45	: 17,000.00	: 196,914.85
Feb. 7, 1811	: 138,256.90	: 39,297.15	: 18,000.00	: 195,554.05
Feb. 24, 1812	: 154,346.80	: 51,059.10	: 23,500.00	: 228,905.90

79. Antoine Duplessis was reappointed Fife Major on May 26, 1807 and served until his death, May 20, 1809, when Francisco Pulizzi was reappointed dating from June 1st. He served until his death, June 8, 1812, and his son, Venerando Pulizzi succeeded him. Drum Major Ashworth was Leader of the Band during this entire period. A due regard for the Sabbath Day was insisted upon by Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Wharton on December 17, 1810, when he directed that the Marine Band should not play on Sundays except for military purposes. The Marines also were great church-goers in those days. Back across the river bridge, in the capital, on G Street, near the Navy Yard, stands Christ Church. Built in 1809, this sturdy edifice is still in churchly use. In its earliest days it was attended by the aristocracy of the neighborhood and by officers and men of the Marines, so that it became known as "The Marine Corps Church." Each Sunday the Sea Soldiers marched from their barracks to service, and lads of the Corps composed the choir. (Philadelphia Public Ledger, January 14, 1923).

INDEX for CHAPTER XVIII
Volume I

Americanus' Defense of Marine Corps.....	7, 8, 9
Appropriations.....	26, 43
Argus.....	31
Armory, Lieutenant William.....	28
Army.....	19, 20, 21, 22, 24
Ashworth, Drum Major Charles.....	43
Augmentation of Marine Corps.....	6
Bacon, Lieutenant Samuel.....	35
Barbary Powers.....	1
Bay of Leghorn.....	2
Bill to reduce Marine Corps.....	7
Blount, Major General Thomas, U.S. Army.....	17
Bounties.....	14
Brooks, Lieutenant John.....	10, 34, 35
Broom, Lieutenant James.....	21, 23
"Burr Conspiracy".....	1
Burrows, William Ward, First Commandant.....	11
Campbell, Commodore.....	2
Carmick, Major Daniel.....	8, 16, 21, 22, 38
Casey, Brigadier General Levi, U.S. Army.....	17
Cassin, Captain John, U.S. Navy.....	37
Casualties.....	5
Charleston, South Carolina, fire & tornado at.....	5
Chesapeake.....	30, 31
Citizen, Schooner.....	4
Clinton, Vice President George (death of).....	17
Congress.....	1, 6, 7, 17, 19, 31, 38
Congress, frigate.....	13
Constellation.....	31
Constitution.....	1, 2, 30, 31
Courts-martial.....	24, 25
Coxe, Lieutenant Charles D.....	1, 2, 27, 29
Crabb, Lieutenant John.....	35, 36, 41
Crane, Lieutenant Ichabod.....	14
Desha, Lieutenant Robert.....	41
Distribution of Marine Corps Personnel.....	30, 31
Duplessis, Fife Major Antoine.....	43
Duties of Marines (aboard ship).....	15, 16
East Florida Expedition.....	1
Emoluments of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.....	36

England.....	9, 10
Enterprise.....	51
Essex.....	10, 51
Fenwick, Captain John R.....	9, 10, 17, 25, 33, 35, 37, 40, 41
Ferret.....	51
First Inaugural Ball in Washington.....	6
"Fish nor Fowl", Marines neither.....	19
Flogging.....	19, 41
"Flour for Hairpowder".....	42
Forde, Lieutenant Henry H.....	55
Fort Mechanic.....	4, 5
France.....	9, 10
Gale, Captain Anthony.....	13
Grayson, Lieutenant Alfred.....	10, 53
Greenleaf, Lieutenant Robert.....	36, 41
Hall, Captain John.....	17, 23
Hamilton, Paul, Secretary of the Navy.....	2, 3, 6, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 35, 36, 37, 39, 42
Henderson, Captain Archibald.....	4, 6, 14, 35, 41
Hooper, Lieutenant Thomas.....	25, 35, 41
Hornet.....	1, 9, 27, 30, 31, 32
"Horse Marines".....	17
Indians.....	1
Jefferson, Thomas, President.....	3, 5, 6
Jefferson's March.....	6
Jersey Prison Ship.....	4
John Adams.....	9, 10, 51, 53
Johnson, Lieutenant John.....	4, 55
Lear, Tobias, Consul General.....	51
Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, emoluments of.....	56
Long's Hotel.....	6
Madison, James, President.....	5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 16, 32
Madison's March.....	6
Marine Band.....	3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 26, 37, 43
Marine Barracks, Construction of.....	10, 33, 34, 55
Marine Barracks, Cost of.....	33, 34
Marine Corps, Augmentation of.....	36
Marine Corps Personnel Distribution of.....	30, 31
Marine Corps Statutory Strength of.....	7, 31
Marine Corps Strength of.....	30, 51

Marine Guards.....	4, 13, 16, 17, 18, 21, 31, 37
Massey, Lieutenant Lee (drowned).....	10
Miller, Major Samuel.....	9, 11, 32, 35, 41
Nautilus.....	31
Navy.....	7, 19, 22, 24
Navy Yard Gate.....	3, 4, 29, 30
Navy Yard Guards, duties of.....	17, 18
Navy Hospitals.....	38
"Old Pohich Church".....	11
Pinckney, Lieutenant Thomas.....	4
"Praetorian Camp".....	1, 7
Preble, Commodore.....	8
President.....	31
President's Levee.....	3
"President's Troops", Marines as.....	1
Pulizzi, Fife Major Francisco.....	43
Pulizzi, Fife Major Venetando.....	43
Punishments adjudged.....	25, 41
Randolph, John.....	1, 7, 8
Rankin, Lieutenant Robert.....	35
Recruiting.....	12, 13, 14, 37
Recruiting Rendezvous.....	13
Revenge.....	30, 31
Reynolds, Lieutenant Michael.....	35
Rodgers, Major, U.S. Army.....	17
Saint Augustine.....	1
Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton.....	2, 3, 6, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 33, 36, 37, 39, 42
Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith.....	17
Secretary of State.....	32, 33
Secretary of War.....	3
Semme's Tavern.....	5
Siren.....	31
Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel, U.S. Army.....	24
Smith, Captain Richard.....	19
Special Duty of Marines.....	16
Spence, Lieutenant.....	32
Status of Marine Corps, a mooted question.....	19, 20, 21, 23, 24
Status of Marines defined.....	19
Statutory Strength of Marine Corps.....	7, 31
Stewart, Commodore Charles.....	2
Strength of Marine Corps.....	30, 31
Sullivan's Island.....	4
"Sweet Dolly" Madison.....	6, 27

Tamany Society of New York.....	4
"The Marine Corps Church".....	43
Thompson, Captain James.....	34, 35, 36
Tiber River.....	9, 10
Tingey, Captain Thomas.....	37
Tunis.....	1, 2, 28
Uniforms.....	26, 41, 42, 43
<u>United States</u> , frigate.....	15, 31
Wainwright, Lieutenant Robert D.....	4, 19, 20, 23
"Waiters".....	16, 39
Washington, George.....	11
Wasp.....	5, 10, 30, 31
Wharton, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Franklin.....	3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43
Wilkinson, General.....	22, 24
Williams, Captain.....	24
Williams, Lieutenant John.....	35, 41
Woodson, Lieutenant Joseph.....	35, 41

INDIAN FIGHTS, 1807-1812

Chapter XIX, Volume I,
History of the United States Marine Corps

By

Major Edwin N. McClellan, U.S. Marines
Officer-in-Charge
Historical Section.

First Edition
AUG. 4, 1925.

FORENOTE

If details concerning the participation of the Navy and Army in any operation or incident described herein do not appear, such omission occurs only because it is impracticable in a history of this character to set forth more than the work of the Marines themselves. To do more than this would extend the history beyond the scope and size planned. In many of the operations described, the Navy or the Army, or both, have been present in greater strength than the Marines, and full credit is here given for their splendid achievements.

The following form of citation is suggested if it is desired to cite, either in published works, or manuscript, any information contained herein:-

(McClellan, Hist., U.S.M.C., 1st ed., I, Chap. 19, p--)

CHAPTER XIX
INDIAN FIGHTS, 1807-1812.

Early in 1811, President Madison directed that the Marines should establish a post at Cumberland Island off the southeast coast of Georgia. Captain John Williams was selected to command it. On April 22nd, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton sent complete instructions for Captain Williams to Captain Greenleaf, commanding the Washington Barracks. Captain Williams was to take such a position on Cumberland Island as would permit him with facility to unite with the flotilla for the protection of the rights and neutrality of the United States.¹ The Secretary further directed: "If required by the officer commanding a detachment of the Army * * * on the St. Mary's Station to unite his forces with him in any actual service, Captain Williams will do so, and while acting with the detachment of the Army, he is to obey the orders of his superior in grade and date of commission of the officers of the Army. Cumberland Island is to be his station."¹ Captain Williams took with him two 6-pounders, to be placed so as to secure his position and annoy "any enemy entering the harbor and other waters in the vicinity of his station."¹

Two days later (April 24) Captain Williams was directed to march a detachment of Marines, made up of Second Lieut. Alexander Sevier, Sergeant Henry B. Austin, two other sergeants, three corporals, a fifer, a drummer, and 39 privates on board the U. S. Schooner Enterprise and proceed to

Cumberland Island.² The Enterprise carried a Sergeant's guard of Marines, under Sergeant William H. E. O'Brien, who died on November 29, 1811.³ Captain Williams arrived at Cumberland Island in May.⁴ "The Spaniards were doubtless alarmed at the first appearance of the troops," wrote the Commandant to Captain Williams on June 26, 1811, but "I suppose" they "are now reconciled."

This station on Cumberland Island and the post under Major Carmick at New Orleans were more or less permanent barracks established primarily for naval purposes and they supplied Marines to the gunboats and also their necessary clothing, equipment, etc. It was an independent Marine Corps post and had no connection with the Army, despite the orders Captain Williams had to cooperate with it. Lieut.-Col. Thomas A. Smith, of the Army, commanded the military post at Point Peter, Ga., and made every effort to assist Captain Williams. "I do not see the necessity of borrowing anything from Colonel Smith, who has, you say, politely tendered his services to you," wrote Lieut.-Col. Wharton to Captain Williams on July 13, 1811, "having Mr. Harris on the spot acting as Navy Agent, he will I presume on requisition cause to be delivered lead or anything else, which may be wanted for your command."

Thus from the beginning, the Marines showed an inclination to mind their own business and to keep out of the incidents that promised to later develop into a muddle.

An epidemic of a virulent disease attacked Captain

Williams' detachment in the summer of 1811 and about seven⁵ men died.

On August 20, 1811, Colonel Wharton allotted four or five hundred dollars to Captain Williams for the purpose of building "huts" for the men during the winter season.⁶ The enlisted strength of Williams' command remained at 46 from⁷ August to December, 1811.

In the meantime "armed diplomacy" was bringing about a state of affairs in Captain Williams' vicinity that later placed him in the ambush which cost him his life. Whether General Matthews the American Commissioner acted with the authority or approval of the State Department or not, he worked for the acquisition of East Florida.⁸ Failing in persuading the Spanish to peacefully cede that area to the United States, events were so nursed as to bring East Florida temporarily to the United States. The written instructions issued to General Matthews called for the Army⁹ and Navy commanders to assist him.

Seven months before the invasion of Florida actually occurred, General Matthews' revolutionary designs were in progress. On June 29, 1811, he wrote Secretary of State Monroe that it was rumored that a regiment of Africans from Jamaica was expected to attack Florida, and later we find that Matthews' successor exploited the "Black Peril" as a reason for remaining in East Florida.¹⁰ On August 3, 1811, General Matthews wrote Secretary Monroe that two hundred stands of arms and fifty horsemen's swords should be sent

to the Army Commanding Officer, subject to his order and that these would be sufficient to arm the revolutionists.¹¹ On March 11, 1811, General Matthews ordered Commodore Campbell, who commanded the U. S. Naval Forces in that vicinity to furnish fifty muskets and bayonets, fifty pistols and an equal number of swords as the affairs that they had discussed were then "ripe for execution."¹²

On March 1, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote Captain John Williams at Cumberland Island that in a day or so he would order him to relieve Captain Carmick at New Orleans; that First Lieut. Ichabod B. Crane would go down to relieve him; that he must grant Second Lieutenant Alexander Sevier a furlough; and that no relief would be sent for that officer. However, the wishes of General Wilkinson to retain Captain Carmick at New Orleans and that the stirring events of March 17, 1812, at Fernandina, prevented this transfer, the Commandant writing to both Major Carmick and Captain Williams on March 26th of this decision.¹³

A large body of Americans from Georgia and Florida organized an independent provisional government in East Florida (Spanish Territory) in March, 1812, and on the 17th these Americans, called "Patriots," covered by the Naval forces of the United States,¹⁴ occupied Fernandina on the northwest point of Amelia Island, East Florida. Fernandina was just across the St. Mary's River from Point Peter, Ga., where Lieutenant Colonel Thomas A. Smith of the Army commanded, and only a few miles from the camp of the

Marines commanded by Captain Williams on Cumberland Island.

This event and the events that followed constituted what has been termed the "Patriot War." The Patriot Flag was raised and to all intents and purposes an independent government was organized.

The part played by the Navy in these earlier incidents is described by Commodore Campbell in his report to the Secretary of the Navy, dated at St. Mary's on March 21, 1812, reading as follows:

"Agreeably to General Matthews' requisition of the 15th the boats proceeded on the morning of the 17th instant, took their station near the town of Fernandina, in a quiet and friendly manner, the commander of those gun-boats [Nos. 10, 62 and 63] having orders not to fire a shot unless first fired upon, and previous to the approach of the Patriots I gave positive orders not to fire a shot on any pretext whatever. The measure had the desired effect of preventing bloodshed, which inevitably would have been the case, with the loss of the town."¹⁶ Marines were on these gunboats. The Vixen was also present, carrying ten Marines, under command of Sergeant Samuel S. Sayles.¹⁷

General Matthews crossed the river with regulars of the Army under Lieutenant Colonel Thomas A. Smith and Captain Williams' Marines, on March 19, 1812, and took possession of Amelia Island, including Fernandina, subject to the President's approval.¹⁸ The "Patriot" flag came down and the Stars and Stripes went up.¹⁹

Lieutenant Colonel Smith proceeded to St. John's in March, 1812, leaving Captain Williams and his Marines at Fernandina with instructions to keep communications open between Fernandina and Smith's Headquarters, wherever it might be. Colonel Smith reached Picolata (on St. John's River due west of St. Augustine) on April 7th, which town surrendered to him on the 12th.

The events transpiring in East Florida were not to the liking of Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton, and on April 21, 1812, he directed that Captain Williams be ordered to withdraw his Marines from Amelia Island and "resume his former station at Cumberland Island."²⁰ Captain Williams received this order but could not obey it in view of his receiving contradictory orders from Governor Mitchell, who had relieved Governor Matthews. The new Governor, in a letter dated May 16, 1812, to Secretary of State Monroe, explained that if he had permitted Captain Williams' Marines to obey the order and withdraw to Cumberland Island, it would have compelled him "to draw assistance and relief from the militia of Georgia." These contradictory orders placed Captain Williams in an awkward position, which he referred to in a letter to First Lieut. Samuel Miller on May 28, 1812. "I thank you for your congratulations, but I do assure you my worthy fellow that I never have been placed in so disagreeable a situation in my life," wrote Captain Williams. "I am ordered by Colonel Wharton to leave this place immediately and assume my station on

Cumberland Island, and I am ordered by Governor Mitchell, who is now the Commissioner on the part of the United States, to remain where I am, for if I evacuate this post all supplies would be immediately cut off from Colonel Smith of the U.S.R.R., who is within three miles of St. Augustine.²¹

Like every other officer who receives contradictory orders and having obeyed and protested the latest received, Captain Williams reported his action to the proper officers. Having obeyed the orders of Governor Mitchell, he was quite relieved to receive a letter dated June 8th, from his Commandant, who informed him that he knew "of nothing which has been deemed improper by the Department of the Navy in your conduct. You have been placed in a situation several times admitting of doubt on your part how to act, and of course attended with embarrassment."²² This letter revoked the orders to return to Cumberland Island. At this time Captain Williams had sixty Marines in his Company. On this same date Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton directed Colonel Wharton to "instruct Captain Williams to attend to the requisitions of Governor Mitchell for the public service."²³

In June, Colonel Smith with his force was located at Fort Moosa, two miles from St. Augustine, and Captain Williams with his Marines were at Fernandina. About the middle of this month a Spanish armed schooner attacked Fort Moosa and the forces fell back to Pass Navarro or Four Mile Creek

where Colonel Smith and his regulars remained while the Patriots retired to the St. John's River, and where a camp was established and named "Camp New Hope." About this time the Seminole Indians, headed by Chief Bowlegs, were rebuffed by the Americans when they offered their services and accordingly went over to the Spaniards. The Marines, under Captain Williams, were assigned the important duty of keeping open the communication between Colonel Smith at Four Mile Creek and Camp New Hope. The headquarters of the Marines was henceforth located at Camp New Hope.

Many times have Marines been placed in situations where their orders called for them "not to shoot," and Captain Williams was in just such a situation, for in a letter dated September 6th, from the "camp before St. Augustine" he asked Lieut. Samuel Miller, the Adjutant: "I wish you, if you can, would find out the reason of the U. S. Troops being kept in this province without the liberty of firing a gun unless we are fired upon. Our situation is an unpleasant one as well as a very unhealthful one." In this letter Captain Williams referred to a young lady, asking Lt. Milly to inform her that he would return as soon as the Florida War is over." Five days later he was wounded and on the 23rd was dead.

The duty assigned to the Marines - of keeping communications open, and of escorting convoys of supply wagons, between the camps - proved to be the most hazardous of any service in Florida. A company of Indians and Negroes, under

a free Black named Prince, formed an ambushade in Twelve Mile Swamp, about twelve miles from St. John's, for the purpose of destroying a convoy of wagons escorted by a force of Marines and Milledgeville volunteers (under Captain Fort) commanded by Captain Williams. The convoy and escort entered the swamp about dusk on the evening of September 12, 1812. A deadly fire was poured into them, being directed first upon the horses. The horses being killed the wagons blocked the trails and the Americans were forced to stand the fight against heavy odds - being outnumbered four to one and the enemy fighting from ambush, Captain Williams was wounded at the first fire, but continued to command his men until, being wounded in eight different places, he gave way to Captain Fort, who later was also wounded. When the enemy advanced with tomahawks, the Marines charged and the enemy retired giving the Americans an opportunity to withdraw from the ambushade.

Retaining several of his men to guard the wounded, Captain Williams sent the remainder to the Block House on Davis Creek for reinforcements. From there a detachment was sent out the next morning and found Captain Williams, his right leg broken, his right hand shot through with three balls, his left arm broken, his left leg shot through, a ball in his left thigh near the groin, and another through the bottom of his belly. One Marine was found on the ground, dead and scalped and several more who had been wounded and hidden in the bushes. There was a total of one killed and

eight wounded, including Captains Williams and Fort. In a letter to his Commandant, Captain Williams wrote: "You may expect that I am in a dreadful situation, though I yet hope I shall recover in a few months."²⁴

Commendations and wishes for a speedy recovery were showered upon Captain Williams before news of his death on September 29th was received. The Commandant,²⁵ the Secretary of the Navy, Colonel Smith, and the newspapers were loud in his praises and in those of his Marines. Colonel Smith officially reported to the War Department and to Governor Mitchell on September 22nd, that "Captains Williams and Fort acquitted themselves highly to their honor, and would have been victorious beyond a doubt if either had escaped a few minutes as an order had been given to charge and the enemy began to give ground. The Indians fled the second fire, yelling like devils."

But the courageous and hopeful Williams succumbed to his wounds on September 29, 1812,²⁶ and the Corps went into mourning for the second officer killed in action since the Revolution.²⁷

On November 6, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote to "Lieut. Col. Thomas A. Smith, Regiment of Rifleman, near St. Augustine, East Florida," acknowledging receipt of the news of the death "of our late Brother Officer, Captain Williams, whose memory will long remain among us," and that he was "very happy to hear that Sergeant Austin has merited the good opinion of the officers under whom he has served."

The National Intelligencer of October 20, 1812, stated that the loss of Captain Williams "will be regretted by all who know how to value honor, bravery and worth," and that "he will be particularly lamented by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, of whom there are many in this city." The same paper of October 24, 1812, carried an announcement that "A Funeral Masonic Procession will move from the Lodge Room of Washington Naval and Union Lodge on Sunday next at ten o'clock to Christ Church, where a sermon will be delivered by the Revd. Brother M'Cormick, in consequence of the death of the worthy and much esteemed Brother John Williams, late a Captain in the Marine Corps, who fell by the hands of Savages and Negroes on the twelfth of September, 1812," and that "all Masons and friends of the deceased in Alexandria, Washington and Georgetown, are invited to attend."²⁸

The remains of Captain Williams now rest in the National Cemetery, at Arlington, Virginia.

On October 16th, before the news of Captain Williams' death reached Colonel Wharton, that officer directed Lieut. Alexander Sevier, who had been on leave from Captain Williams' command, to "immediately proceed by the most direct route to St. Mary's, Ga., and from thence to the Encampment of the Troops of the United States under Colonel Smith, near St. Augustine, East Florida." Lieutenant Sevier was directed that on reaching this camp to report to Captain Williams or in his absence to report to Colonel Smith "and receive the

command of the Marines during the absence of Captain Williams²⁹

Before the arrival of Lieutenant Sevier, the Marines, being without an officer, were mustered on September 30, 1812, by Ensign J. Ryan, 3rd U. S. Inf., and he signed the muster rolls carrying the names of 56 Marines at "Camp New Hope."³⁰ On October 19th, the orders of Lieutenant Sevier were modified, the Commandant writing him: "The official report of the death of Williams," was received. "You must now consider yourself as the officer detailed under the orders of the Department to receive the Command, late Williams, of the Marines, and will so proceed to the Camp near St. Augustine and report to Colonel Smith."

About this time an expedition, mostly of Volunteers, was organized by Colonel Niel Newman, for the purpose of attacking the Lotchway (or Seminole) and Alligator Indians in their towns. Some of this force were Marines. Crossing the St. John's River at Picolata they soon arrived within seven miles of Payne's Town, which was located near the Great Alluchua Savanna (now Lake Levy) and Lake Pithlachocoo (now Newman's Lake). Payne and Bowlegs were the chiefs of the Indians.³¹

At about noon September 27th, about 150 Indians under Payne and Bowlegs attacked the Americans. Payne and several other Indians were killed, while one American was killed and nine wounded. The right of the line was defended by a pond; the centre was shielded by two fallen pines, and the left by the head of a swamp. After a smart two-hour fight

the Americans feigned a retreat, then suddenly charged and dispersed the Indians. Just before dark the Indians again attacked and were driven off. Five times during the night Indian attacks were repulsed. The Indians besieged the Americans for eight days, when the Americans retired in the direction of Picolata, carrying eight wounded on litters. After retreating nine miles they were ambushed by the Indians and three Americans were killed at the first fire. A charge again dispersed the Indians and they were seen no more. Living on alligators, gophers and palmetto stocks the Americans at last reached Picolata.³¹

On December 21, 1812, the Commandant wrote Lieutenant Sevier congratulating him on his "safe return from a fatiguing expedition. The service on which you are now engaged will, I imagine, give you frequent toils in that way, which your good health and youth together will I hope enable you to surmount."³²

Major General Thomas Pinckney, who commanded the Southern Division of Army, superseded Governor Mitchell about the middle of October, 1812.

Upon the return of Colonel Newman after his reverses at the hands of Payne and Bowlegs, an expedition composed of soldiers, Marines, and volunteers, was immediately organized to attack the Indians. Lieutenant Sevier commanded the Marines. Payne's Town was destroyed on February 9th and Bowleg's Town on the 10th. The Americans camped at Payne's Town on the 10th and were attacked by about two hundred

Indians. The Americans charged and dispersed the enemy. The American loss was one killed and seven wounded, while the Indians suffered severely.³³ On February 27th and 28th, 1813, Lieutenant Sevier wrote letters to the Commandant describing this Indian fight and also wrote to First Lieut. John Crabb, the Paymaster, on March 4, 1813, on the same subject. A letter of Lieutenant Colonel Wharton to Lieutenant Sevier, dated March 26, 1813, stated that he was pleased to read "that you have received no injury in your late expedition, on which I congratulate you;" thanked him "for the account of your campaign;" and that he would "be ever happy to hear of your success."

East Florida becoming quiet, Lieutenant Sevier became restless and complained to the Commandant of the "inactive life." While at Camp New Hope, St. John's, East Florida, Lieutenant Sevier wrote the Commandant on March 30, 1813, that he wished "to return to Cumberland Island or elsewhere in order that he might be of service to his country," and that although he had already "done much hard duty since" he arrived "on this station" he could not "see the benefits resulting from it." At this time Lieutenant Sevier had command of two of the five guns in East Florida and wrote that as he had become "an artillerist from necessity" he believed that if he returned to Cumberland Island he "could be of service not only in assisting the flotilla on the St. Mary's Station, but of much service in protecting Cumberland Island and the neighboring islands from the ravages of the enemy."

Captain Sevier got back to Washington in time to gain laurels and a wound at Bladensburg.

The President having finally decided to evacuate East Florida, General Pinckney issued orders on April 16, 1813, for all United States troops to withdraw from Camp New Hope to Point Peter, on the St. Mary's River, Ga., on April 29th. On May 8, 1813, General Pinckney reported to Secretary of State Monroe that the "last of our troops were withdrawn from Fernandina on May 13, 1813." Lieutenant Sevier and his Marines were withdrawn to Point Peter, Ga., with the Army. The May muster roll showing him there with 49 men. His artillery duty had been so efficient that General Pinckney "ordered him to remain with the Southern Army and discharge the duty of an artillerist."

On June 30, 1813, the Commandant forwarded orders of Secretary of the Navy Jones, dated June 28th, to Lieutenant Sevier, directing him "immediately on receipt of this" to "proceed with the detachment under your command to such place as Commodore Campbell shall designate for your embarkation in order to proceed to Beaufort, S.C., where" a vessel will "transport you to Beaufort, S.C." "A vessel will transport you through the Sound to Elizabeth City, thence through the Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk, where further orders will be received."

By June, 1813, Lieutenant Sevier with 51 men was at Point Peter, Ga. They finally arrived in Washington, after stopping at Charleston, S.C., in the fall of 1813.

NOTES.
CHAPTER XIX.

1. Navy Let. Bk., Marine Officers, I, 118-119, which letter concluded: "To these orders you will add an assurance from the department, that the most perfect reliance is placed on the bravery, fidelity and discretion of Captain Williams"; a great deal of the information in this Chapter has been published in the Marine Corps Gazette, March, 1923, 24-43; See also Leatherneck, December 9, 1920; Fairbanks, Hist. of Florida; John Lee Williams, Territory of Florida; Cooper & Sherman, East Florida Invasion; The Article in Recruiter's Bulletin, February, 1917, 11, is full of errors, particularly with reference to the statement that the Marines under command of Captain John Williams were drawn from New Orleans and returned to that station after the Florida operations; See also Navy Let. Bk., Marine Officers, I, 158, Secretary of the Navy to Wharton.
2. Marine Corps Archives.
3. Marine Corps Muster Rolls.
4. In a letter dated May 23, 1811, Captain Williams reported his arrival "at the Island," as shown by a letter of the Commandant on June 12, 1811, in reply. (Marine Corps Archives).
5. Private John White died on June 22 and Private Francis D. Maley on July 17th. Private Lewis Fleury on August 27th; Christian Waymen on September 14th; Burris Grooten on October 8th; Benjamin Arnold on November 1st; and John Fallon on November 5th. On September 11, 1811, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton, wrote Williams, "Comm'g Marines, St. Mary's," regretting death of "Doc. McCormick," and general sickness on Cumberland Island, and that Williams should select a doctor and Hamilton would "send him a commission." (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 126-127).
6. See also Let. of Wharton, March 17, 1812. (Marine Corps Archives); Let. Secretary of the Navy to Williams, October 22, 1811, in which Secretary Hamilton wrote it probably is best for the Marines to remain "on Cumberland Island." (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 133).
7. Marine Corps Muster Rolls.
8. By the Treaty of Paris of 1763, Florida was ceded to England in return for Havana. The provinces of East Florida and West Florida were now formed, the boundaries

8. (Continued)

of West Florida being 31 degrees N. (32 degrees 28' in 1767) - the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola Rivers - the Gulf of Mexico - Mississippi Sound - Lakes Borgne, Ponchartrain and Maurepas, and the Mississippi River. By the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Florida reverted to Spain. A dispute with the United States over the northern boundary was settled by treaty in 1795, the line 31 degrees being established. When Louisiana was purchased in 1803, it was supposed that West Florida went with it. Through a convention at Buhler's Plains on July 17, 1810, the people of West Florida formulated plans for a government. The Spanish Governor did not accept them and on September 26, 1810, West Florida was declared independent and the United States petitioned to admit it to the Union. On October 27, 1810, President Madison on the theory that West Florida had been ceded with Louisiana declared West Florida to be under the jurisdiction of the United States. On December 7, 1810, the United States took possession of West Florida to Pearl River, and two years later up to Perdido River. (See Fortier, Louisiana, II, 634-637); On January 25, 1811, Congress passed a joint Resolution and on the same date an Act of Congress was approved relating to the temporary occupation of East Florida. Both were kept secret by not publishing them. The President was authorized to use the Army and Navy for the purpose. President Madison appointed General George Matthews and Colonel John McKee as Commissioners to carry out the provisions of this legislation; See also Fairbanks, Hist. and Antiq., St. Augustine, 174-176; Dewhurst, Hist., St. Augustine, 140-142.

9. See Dewhurst, Hist., St. Augustine, 137-138.
10. Navy Archives.
11. Navy Archives.
12. Navy Archives.
13. Marine Corps Archives.
14. Niles Register, II, 93.
15. Perkins, Hist. Sketches of the U.S. From Peace of 1815 to 1830, 94-97.
16. Navy Archives.
17. Marine Corps Muster Rolls.
18. See Niles Weekly Reg., II, 93-94; Powell, The Road to Glory, 98-102.

19. St. Mary's was a small place on the American side of the line. One day in March, 1812, found some Americans under Col. Ashley was military chief and General John H. McIntosh, Governor or Director of the Republic of Florida, across the St. Mary's River on Florida soil, and there on a bluff 6 miles above Amelia Island they camped and ran up a white flag decorated with a soldier with bayonet charged and the motto, Salus populi - suprema lex! Fernandina had been a Spanish port for some years. On March 15, Colonel Ashley (military chief) sent an ultimatum to Don Jose Lopez in charge of Fernandina. At this time the U.S. had possession of Florida from St. Mary's River to St. John's, and now these Americans demanded the surrender of Fernandina. This, of course, was all done with secret approval of General Matthews. Nine American gunboats under Commodore Campbell were in the River. On March 16, 1812, met at the Patriot Camp on Belle River. The American gunboats trained their guns on the city. The Spanish (10 strong) surrendered. Patriot banner went up; Articles of Capitulation were required that within 24 hours Stars and Stripes should go up and they did; See also Fairbanks, Hist. of Florida, 253-259.

20. Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off.; I, 145; On March 27, 1812, Lieutenant Colonel Smith, commanding U.S. Troops in East Florida reported that he was proceeding to St. John's and that "Captain Williams will be left with the Marines under his command at Fernandina." He reported to the War Department that he embarked on April 1, 1812, and reached Picolata (which is on the St. John's River due west of St. Augustine) on April 7th; that on April 8th he ascended Six Mile Creek six miles and that Picolata had surrendered on April 12th. On April 8th, Colonel Smith was ordered by General Matthews to march to "Moosa Old Fort" a military station two miles from St. Augustine and take it over as it had been ceded to the United States. The energetic initiative of General Matthews however had not been appreciated by the President. The Spanish and British Governments protested against this invasion of East Florida and on April 4, 1812, Secretary Monroe wrote him that his commission was revoked. News of this, however, did not reach Matthews until other events had transpired. On April 21, 1812, Secretary of the Navy Hamilton directed Colonel Wharton "to order Captain Williams to withdraw all the force under his command from Amelia Island and to resume his former station at Cumberland Island." Captain Williams had only 35 Marines under his command at this time. Captain Williams made a report to the Commandant in Washington of these operations and some in May, he received a letter from Colonel Wharton dated April 23,

20. (Continued)

1812, informing Captain Williams that he had submitted the letter of Captain Williams "with the orders of Lieut. Colonel Smith to the consideration of the Honourable the Secretary of the Navy," and that he had "been directed to order you to withdraw the force under your command from Amelia Island, and to resume your station immediately at Cumberland Island, Ga. This you will consider as an order to carry the same into effect on its receipt." On May 10th, Colonel Wharton having received two letters dated at Amelia Island April 10th and 23rd from Captain Williams, wrote to him on May 10th, that he hoped that his next letter would be from his "former station, Cumberland Island, where you must return."

21. Capt. Williams was at "Amelia Island, Fernandino."; Governor Mitchell relieved General Matthews and in a letter dated May 16, 1812, to Secretary of State Monroe he explained his detaining Captain Williams' Marines in East Florida, against an order, which Governor Mitchell said if complied with, "would have compelled me to draw assistance and relief from the militia of Georgia." On May 28th, Captain Williams at Fernandina, in a letter to Lieut. Samuel Miller, the Adjutant of the Corps, promised to send him a "muster roll of the Marines on board the gunboats, which shall be done as soon as possible." He explained that "this will take some time as the boats are so scattered and you know that I have no officer to assist me in anything." In this letter Captain Williams referred to his quandary of having received contradictory orders in these words: "I thank you for your congratulations but I do assure you my worthy fellow that I never have been placed in so disagreeable a situation in my life. I am ordered by Colonel Wharton to leave this place immediately and resume my station on Cumberland Island and I am ordered by Governor Mitchell, who is now the Commissioner on the part of the United States, to remain where I am for if I evacuate this post all supplies would be immediately cut off from Colonel Smith of the U.S.R.R., who is within three miles of St. Augustine. So you see how I am situated." In this month Captain Williams' company was 34 strong; While communications were passing between Matthews and the Spanish Governor "Captain Williams of the Marines kept open a communication between Colonel Smith at Four Mile Creek [or Pass Navarro] and Camp New Hope."

22. See also Captain R. Smith to Williams, July 16, 1812, and Wharton to Williams, August 10, 1812; Later on September 24, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote Captain

22. (Continued)

Williams that he would recommend the withdrawal of Williams' force from the Army "very strenuously" so that he could use them "as soon as possible for naval purposes, for which they were originally intended. Further that Capt. Williams had "been situated in an arduous undertaking."

23.

A letter dated June 8th written to Captain Williams by his Commandant stated: "I know of nothing which has been deemed improper by the Department of the Navy in your conduct. You have been placed in a situation several times admitting of doubt on your part how to act, and of course attended with embarrassment. You will see by the enclosed how far your orders to return to Cumberland Island are to be revoked and will govern yourself accordingly." At this time there were sixty Marines under Captain Williams; Captain Williams in July had again complained to Washington of the efforts of the military authorities to take his Marines from him and on August 10, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote to him that letters had been sent to the Army officer which would relieve the situation. On August 19th, Captain Williams requested Colonel Wharton to have his detachment withdraw from the Army. He was "before St. Augustine" on that date.

24.

As reported by Colonel Smith "the escort consisted of a noncommissioned officer and nineteen privates commanded by Captain Williams of the Marines," besides the drivers of the wagons. The convoy and escort entered the swamp about 8:00 p.m., of September 12, 1812. A deadly fire was poured upon them by the Negroes and Indians. Some of the horses being killed the wagons blocked the passage and the Americans were forced to stand and fight against heavy odds - the enemy being about fifty in number and fighting from ambush. The noncommissioned officer was killed, both Captain Williams and Captain Fort wounded, the former mortally, and six privates wounded. Colonel Smith officially reported to the War Department and to Governor Mitchell on September 22 that "Captains Williams and Fort acquitted themselves highly to their honor, and would have been victorious beyond a doubt if either had escaped a few minutes as an order had been given to charge and the enemy began to give ground. The Indians fled the second fire, yelling like devils." Colonel Smith reported that "an order had just been given by Captain Williams to charge as he fell, which was heard by the enemy and they began to give way." The attack lasted 25 minutes; Original letter of Capt. Williams, September 15, 1812, is in Marine Corps

24. (Continued)

Archives; Nat. Intell., October 6, 20, 1812; Thompson, "Late War," 43-44, gives a full account of this action, and states "Captain Williams was a brave young man, and noted for his sedulous attention to the duties of his station."

25. On October 12, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote Captain Williams.

26. Size Rolls; Nat. Intell., October 20, 1812.

27. Lieutenant Bush on Constitution was the first; on October 19, 1812, Colonel Wharton ordered crepe worn for one month. (Order Book).

28. Captain Williams' remains were interred at St. Mary's and an appropriate stone placed over the grave by his brother officers of the Marine Corps. In 1904 the officers of his Corps caused the remains to be brought to Washington where they arrived on July 4, and were later re-interred at Arlington with appropriate ceremonies. The original stone was brought north and lies over the grave in Arlington. (A.&N. Reg., July 9, 1904, 3-4); About the year 1904 Brigadier-General Charles L. McCawley, while on an inspection trip to Porto Rico and Cuba, learned of the location of the grave of Captain Williams, in an abandoned cemetery at St. Mary's, Ga., General McCawley brought this information to the attention of the Commandant. Proper permission was obtained to remove the remains (just about a cigar-box full) and they and the original grave stone were replaced in Arlington National Cemetery; The Records of the Office of the Arlington National Cemetery contain the information: "Transferred from St. Mary's, Ga., August 15, 1904, by the officers of the Marine Corps." John Williams entered the Marine Corps in 1805, Secretary Robert Smith forwarding him his commission on August 20th to "Centreville, Va." (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 14).

29. Wharton to Sevier, Marine Corps Archives; See Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton to Wharton, October 13, 1812, ordering that officer be sent to succeed Williams. (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 163); Nat. Intell., October 20, 1812).

30. Marine Corps Muster Rolls.

31. Thompson, "Late War," 44-45; Nat. Intell., December 5, 1812; Niles Register, III, 171, 235-239; Palmer, Hist. Reg. U.S., II, 41-44; On September 20th, Colonel Smith

31. (Continued)

moved his camp to Davis' Creek, on the King's Road, 20 miles north of St. Augustine. The Seminoles under Chief Bowlegs were ravaging the country; See also Niles Reg., III, 235, 249.

32.

Captain Robert D. Wainwright, commanding the Marines at Charleston, S.C., volunteered for service in East Florida. On December 20, 1812, The Commandant replied that "the employment of the Southern Army I am totally unacquainted with; but have certainly no great desire to reduce the number of Marines, now too small for all our naval service, by increasing the forces of another department, which has already more of our men than we can spare, and by which I am at this moment prevented from meeting with promptness the requisitions of the Department to which I belong." The Commandant stated that he could not order him even if he desired to as Charleston post had been established for naval purposes, not military. In a letter to Major Carmick at New Orleans, the Commandant informed that officer that he had hoped to reinforce him but could not and Major Carmick must depend on his own exertions. The sending to him the "detachment late in Georgia, was thought of, but it will not be removed at present from East Florida where it has been serving and where I imagine more will be necessary."

33.

Nat. Intell., March 16-17, 1813; See also Niles Reg., IV, 67.

INDEX for CHAPTER XIX
Volume I

Alligator Indians.....	12
Amelia Island.....	5, 6, 18, 19
American Forces ambushed.....	9, 19
Arlington Cemetery, Captain Williams buried at.....	11, 21
"Armed Diplomacy".....	3
Army.....	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 17, 20, 22
Austin, Sergeant Henry B.....	1, 10
"Black Peril".....	3
Boundaries of East & West Florida.....	16, 17
Bowleg's Town.....	13
Camp New Hope.....	8, 12, 14, 15, 19
Campbell, Commodore.....	4, 5, 15, 18
Carmick, Major Daniel.....	2, 4, 22
Casualties.....	8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20
Chief Bowlegs (Seminole).....	8, 12, 13, 22
Chief Payne.....	12, 13
Crabb, Lieutenant John.....	14
Crane, Lieutenant Ichabod.....	4
Cumberland Island.....	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 14, 18, 19, 20
Deaths from disease.....	3
Dismal Swamp Canal.....	15
Duties of Marines.....	8
East Florida.....	3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22
<u>Enterprise</u> , schooner.....	1, 2
Fernandina.....	4, 6, 7, 15, 18
Florida War.....	8
Fort, Captain, Volunteer.....	9, 10, 20
Fort Moosa.....	7, 18
Georgia Militia.....	6, 19
Greenleaf, Captain Robert.....	1
Gun-boats.....	5
Hamilton, Paul, Secretary of the Navy.....	1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 16, 18, 19, 21
Jones, William, Secretary of the Navy.....	15

Lake Levy.....	12
Lake Pithlachocoo.....	12
Lotchway Indians.....	12
McCawley, Brigadier General Charles L.....	21
McKee, John, Colonel, U.S. Army.....	17
Marines duties of.....	8
Marine Guards.....	2, 5
Masonic Procession for Captain Williams.....	11
Matthews, General, American Commissioner.....	3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 18, 19
Milledgeville Volunteers.....	9
Miller, Lieutenant Samuel.....	6, 8
Milly, Lieutenant (killed).....	8
Mitchell, Governor.....	6, 7, 10, 13, 19
Monroe, James, Secretary of State.....	3, 6, 15, 19
"Moosa Old Fort".....	18
Navy.....	3, 5, 17
Newman, Lieutenant Colonel Niel.....	12, 13
New Orleans.....	2, 4, 22
O'Brien, Sergeant William H.....	2
Pass Navarro.....	7
"Patriots".....	4, 8
"Patriot" Flag.....	5, 18
"Patriot War".....	5
Payne's Town.....	12, 13
Picolata.....	6, 12, 13, 18
Pinckney, Major General Thomas, U.S. Army.....	13, 15
Point Peter, Georgia.....	2, 4, 15
President Madison.....	1, 15, 17, 18
Republic of Florida.....	18
Ryan, Ensign, J.....	12
Saint Augustine.....	7
<u>Salus populi-Suprema lex!</u>	18
Sayles, Sergeant Samuel S.....	5
Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton.....	1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 18, 19, 21
Secretary of the Navy William Jones.....	15
Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith.....	21
Secretary of State James Monroe.....	6, 15, 19
Seminole Indians.....	8, 12
Sevier, Lieutenant Alexander.....	1, 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
Smith, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas A., U.S. Army.....	2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10 11, 12, 18, 19, 20
Stars and Stripes.....	5, 18

<u>Vixen</u>	5
Wainwright, Captain Robert D.....	22
West Florida.....	16, 17
Wharton, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Franklin.....	2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22
Wilkinson, General.....	4
Williams, Captain John.....	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21

INDIAN FIGHTS

1807-1813

Material and Sources
of
Chapter XIX, Volume I,

History of the United States Marine Corps

By

Major Edwin N. McClellan, U. S. Marines
Officer-in-Charge
Historical Section.

First Edition, August 4, 1925
(Revised, June 30, 1931)

FORENOTE

This compilation is not the final manuscript of this Chapter but represents only material and sources upon which it will be based. If details concerning the participation of the Navy and Army in any operation or incident described herein do not appear, such omission occurs only because it is impracticable in a history of this character to set forth more than the work of the Marines themselves. To do more than this would extend the history beyond a practical scope and size. In many of the operations described, the Navy or the Army, or both, have been present in greater strength than the Marines, and full credit is here given for their splendid achievements.

The following form of citation is suggested if it is desired to cite, either in published works, or manuscript, any information contained herein:-

(McClellan, Hist., U.S.M.C., 1st ed.,
1st rev., I, Ch. 19, p--)

CHAPTER XIX.

INDIAN FIGHTS. 1807-1813.

Early in 1811, President Madison directed that the Marines should establish a post at Cumberland Island off the southeast coast of Georgia. Captain John Williams was selected to command it. On April 23rd, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton sent complete instructions for Captain Williams to Captain Greenleaf, commanding the Washington Barracks. Captain Williams was to take such a position on Cumberland Island as would permit him with facility to unite with the flotilla for the protection of the rights and neutrality of the United States.¹ The Secretary further directed: "If required by the officer commanding a detachment of the Army * * * on the St. Mary's Station to unite his forces with him in any actual service, Captain Williams will do so, and while acting with the detachment of the Army, he is to obey the orders of his superior in grade and date of commission of the officers of the Army.¹ Cumberland Island is to be his station." Captain Williams took with him two 6-pounders, to be placed so as to secure his position and annoy "any enemy entering the harbor and other waters in the vicinity of his station."¹

Two days later (April 24) Captain Williams was directed to march a detachment of Marines, made up of Second Lieut.

Alexander Sevier, Sergeant Henry B. Austin, two other sergeants, three corporals, a fifer, a drummer, and 39 privates on board the U.S. Schooner Enterprise and proceed to Cumberland Island.² The Enterprise carried a Sergeant's guard of Marines, under Sergeant William H. E. O'Brien, who died on November 29, 1811.³ Captain Williams arrived at Cumberland Island in May.⁴ "The Spaniards were doubtless alarmed at the first appearance of the troops," wrote the Commandant to Captain Williams on June 26, 1811, but "I suppose" they "are now reconciled."

This station on Cumberland Island and the post under Major Carmick at New Orleans were more or less permanent barracks established primarily for naval purposes and they supplied Marines to the gunboats and also their necessary clothing, equipment, etc. It was an independent Marine Corps post and had no connection with the Army, despite the orders Captain Williams had to cooperate with it. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas A. Smith, of the Army, commanded the military post at Point Peter, Ga.,⁵ and made every effort to assist Captain Williams. "I do not see the necessity of borrowing anything from Colonel Smith, who has, you say, politely tendered his services to you," wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Wharton to Captain Williams on July 13, 1811, "having Mr. Harris on the spot acting as Navy Agent, he will

I presume on requisition cause to be delivered lead or anything else, which may be wanted for your command."

Thus from the beginning, the Marines showed an inclination to mind their own business and to keep out of the incidents that promised to later develop into a muddle.

An epidemic of a virulent disease attacked Captain Williams' detachment in the summer of 1811 and about seven⁶ men died.

On August 20, 1811, Colonel Wharton allotted four or five hundred dollars to Captain Williams for the purpose of building "huts" for the men during the winter season.⁷ The enlisted strength of Williams' command remained at 46 from⁸ August to December, 1811.

In the meantime "armed diplomacy" was bringing about a state of affairs in Captain Williams' vicinity that later placed him in the ambush which cost him his life. Whether General George Mathews the American Commissioner acted with the authority or approval of the State Department or not,⁹ he worked for the acquisition of East Florida. Failing in persuading the Spanish to peacefully cede that area to the United States, events were so nursed as to bring East Florida temporarily to the United States. The written instructions issued to General Mathews called for the Army and Navy¹⁰ commanders to assist him.

The immediate excuse for the occupation of Spanish East Florida by the United States was the impending war with Great Britain.¹¹

Seven months before the invasion of Florida actually occurred, General Mathews' revolutionary designs were in progress. On June 29, 1811, he wrote Secretary of State Monroe that it was rumored that a regiment of Africans from Jamaica was expected to attack Florida, and later we find that Mathews' successor exploited the "Black Peril" as a reason for remaining in East Florida.¹² On August 3, 1811, General Mathews wrote Secretary Monroe that two hundred stands of arms and fifty horsemen's swords should be sent to the Army Commanding Officer, subject to his order and that these would be sufficient to arm the revolutionists.¹³ On March 11, 1812, General Mathews ordered Commodore Campbell, who commanded the U. S. Naval Forces in that vicinity to furnish fifty muskets and bayonets, fifty pistols and an equal number of swords as the affairs that they had discussed¹⁴ were then "ripe for execution."

On March 1, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote Captain John Williams at Cumberland Island that in a day or so he would order him to relieve Captain Carmick at New Orleans; that First Lieutenant Ichabod B. Crane would go down to relieve him; that he must grant Second Lieutenant Alexander Sevier

a furlough; and that no relief would be sent for that officer. However, the wishes of General Wilkinson to retain Captain Carmick at New Orleans and the stirring events of March 17, 1812, at Fernandina, prevented this transfer, the Commandant writing to both Major Carmick and Captain Williams on March 15¹⁵ 26th of this decision.

A large body of Americans from Georgia and Florida organized an independent provisional government in East Florida (Spanish Territory) in March, 1812, and on the 17th these Americans, called "Patriots," covered by the Naval forces of the United States,¹⁶ occupied Fernandina on the northwest point of Amelia Island, East Florida. Fernandina was just across the St. Mary's River from Point Peter, Ga., where Lieutenant Colonel Thomas A. Smith of the Army commanded, and only a few miles from the camp of the Marines commanded by Captain Williams on Cumberland Island.¹⁷

This event and the events that followed constituted what had been termed the "Patriot War." The Patriot Flag was raised and to all intents and purposes an independent government was organized.

The part played by the Navy in these earlier incidents is described by Commodore Campbell in his report to the Secretary of the Navy, dated at St. Mary's on March 21, 1812, reading as follows:

"Agreeably to General Mathews' requisition of the 15th the boats proceeded on the morning of the 17th instant, took their station near the town of Fernandina, in a quiet and friendly manner, the commander of those gun-boats (Nos. 10. 62 and 63) having orders not to fire a shot unless first fired upon, and previous to the approach of the Patriots I gave positive orders not to fire a shot on any pretext whatever. The measure had the desired effect of preventing bloodshed, which inevitably would have been the case, with the loss of the town."¹⁸ Marines were on these gunboats. The Vixen was also present, carrying ten Marines, under command of Sergeant Samuel S. Sayles.¹⁹

General Mathews crossed the river with regulars of the Army under Lieutenant Colonel Thomas A. Smith and Captain Williams' Marines, on March 18, 1812, and took possession of Amelia Island, including Fernandina, subject to the President's approval.²⁰ The "Patriot" flag came down and the Stars and Stripes went up.²¹

Lieutenant Colonel Smith proceeded to St. John's in March, 1812, leaving Captain Williams and his Marines at Fernandina with instructions to keep communications open between Fernandina and Smith's Headquarters, wherever it might be. Colonel Smith occupied Picolata²² on April 7th. On April 12 Colonel Smith took over command of Moosa Old Fort, near St. Augustine, from the Patriots.²³

The events transpiring in East Florida were not to the liking of Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton, and on April 21, 1812, he directed that Captain Williams be ordered to withdraw his Marines from Amelia Island and "resume his former station at Cumberland Island."²⁴ Captain Williams received this order but could not obey it in view of his receiving contradictory orders from Governor David B. Mitchell, who had relieved Governor Mathews, on April 4, 1812. The new Governor, in a letter dated May 16, 1812, to Secretary of State Monroe, explained that if he had permitted Captain Williams' Marines to obey the order and withdraw to Cumberland Island, it would have compelled him "to draw assistance and relief from the militia of Georgia." These contradictory orders placed Captain Williams in an awkward position, which he referred to in a letter to First Lieutenant Samuel Miller on May 28, 1812. "I thank you for your congratulations, but I do assure you my worthy fellow that I never have been placed in so disagreeable a situation in my life," wrote Captain Williams. "I am ordered by Colonel Wharton to leave this place immediately and assume my station on Cumberland Island, and I am ordered by Governor Mitchell, who is now the Commissioner on the part of the United States, to remain where I am, for if I evacuate this post all supplies would be immediately cut off from Colonel Smith of the U.S.R.R., who is within three miles of St.

²⁵
Augustine."

Like every other officer who receives contradictory orders and having obeyed and protested the latest received, Captain Williams reported his action to the proper officers. Having obeyed the orders of Governor Mitchell, he was quite relieved to receive a letter dated June 8th, from his Commandant, who informed him that he knew "of nothing which has been deemed improper by the Department of the Navy in your conduct. You have been placed in a situation several times admitting of doubt on your part how to act, and of course attended with embarrassment."²⁶ This letter revoked the orders to return to Cumberland Island. At this time Captain Williams had sixty Marines in his Company. On this same date Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton directed Colonel Wharton to "instruct Captain Williams to attend to the requisitions of Governor Mitchell for the public service."²⁷

About the middle of May, 1812, Governor Mitchell "procured a gunboat from Commodore Campbell, with one hundred rounds of ammunition for six-pounders and had the two brass pieces at Point Petre with their carriages put on board for the purpose of being conveyed" to Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, "but such has been the delay occasioned by negligence and head winds, that the boat has not yet left

Amelia for St. John's. My object in sending you these Guns, is, to enable you to maintain your ground, in order to watch the Spaniards, as well as to convince them that they do not possess the power to drive you in case they should²⁸ be disposed to make another tryal."

In June, Colonel Smith with his force was located at Fort Moosa, two miles from St. Augustine, and Captain Williams with his Marines were at Fernandina. On May 16, 1812 a Spanish armed schooner attacked Fort Moosa and the forces fell back to Pass Navarro or Four Mile Creek where Colonel Smith and his regulars remained while the Patriots retired to the St. John's River, and where a camp was established which was later named "Camp New Hope." The Patriot camp was²⁹ probably at the Cow Ford (now Jacksonville). About this time the Seminole Indians, headed by Chief Bowlegs, were rebuffed by the Americans when they offered their services and accordingly went over to the Spaniards.

The Marines, under Captain Williams, were assigned the important duty of keeping open the communication between Colonel Smith at Four Mile Creek and the depot at Davis' Creek called Fort Stallings.³⁰

The Navy transported troops of the Army during these operations. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith wrote Captain John Tate on June 25, 1812 from his "Camp before St. Augustine" that "three gunboats and one of our Revenue Cutters arrived

at the Cowford yesterday at 12 o'clock with 175 men." ³¹

The Marine Guards serving on the gunboats also participated in these operations. On July 1, 1812 Governor Mitchell wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Smith that the recruits from Savannah were at Amelia "and with the Marines from the Gunboats make Captain Fielder Ridgeway's command at least ³² ninety men."

On July 6 Lieutenant Colonel Smith wrote to Governor Mitchell from his "Camp before St. Augustine" suggesting "the propriety of ordering Captain Williams' detachment" to ³³ join him, if they could be spared from Amelia.

Many times have Marines been placed in situations where their orders called for them "not to shoot," and Captain Williams was in just such a situation, for in a letter dated September 6th, from the "camp before St. Augustine" he asked Lieut. Samuel Miller, the Adjutant: "I wish you, if you can, would find out the reason of the U.S. Troops being kept in this province without the liberty of firing a gun unless we are fired upon. Our situation is an unpleasant one as well as a very unhealthful one." In this letter Captain Williams referred to a young lady, asking Lieutenant Miller to inform her that he would "return as soon as the Florida War is over." ³⁴ Five days later he was wounded and on the 29th was dead.

The duty assigned to the Marines - of keeping communications open, and of escorting convoys of supply wagons, between the camps - proved to be the most hazardous of any service in Florida. A company of Indians and Negroes, under a free Black named Prince, formed an ambushade in Twelve Mile Swamp, about twelve miles from St. John's, for the purpose of destroying a convoy of wagons escorted by a force of Marines and Milledgeville volunteers (under Captain Fort) commanded by Captain Williams. The convoy and escort entered the swamp about dusk on the evening of September 12, 1812. A deadly fire was ~~pu~~red into them, being directed first upon the horses. The horses being killed the wagons blocked the trails and the Americans were forced to stand and fight against heavy odds - being outnumbered four to one and the enemy fighting from ambush, Captain Williams was wounded at the first fire, but continued to command his men until, being wounded in eight different places, he gave way to Captain Fort, who later was also wounded. When the enemy advanced with tomahawks, the Marines charged and the enemy retired giving the Americans an opportunity to withdraw from the ambushade.

Retaining several of his men to guard the wounded, Captain Williams sent the remainder to the Block House on Davis Creek for reinforcements. From there a detachment was sent out the next morning and found Captain Williams, his right

leg broken, his right hand shot through with three balls, his left arm broken, his left leg shot through, a ball in his left thigh near the groin, and another through the bottom of his belly. One Marine was found on the ground, dead and scalped and several more who had been wounded and hidden in the bushes. There was a total of one killed and eight wounded, including Captains Williams and Fort. In a letter to his Commandant, Captain Williams wrote: "You may expect that I am in a dreadful situation, though I yet hope I shall recover in a few months."³⁵

Commendations and wishes for a speedy recovery were showered upon Captain Williams before news of his death on September 29th was received. The Commandant,³⁶ the Secretary of the Navy, Colonel Smith, and the newspapers were loud in his praises and in those of his Marines. Colonel Smith officially reported to the War Department and to Governor Mitchell on September 22nd, that "Captains Williams and Fort acquitted themselves highly to their honor, and would have been victorious beyond a doubt if either had escaped a few minutes as an order had been given to charge and the enemy began to give ground. The Indians fled the second fire, yelling like devils."

But the courageous and hopeful Williams succumbed to

his wounds on September 29, 1812.³⁷ He died at the camp at Hollingsworth that was later named Camp New Hope about October 12, 1812. It is about five miles south of Jacksonville.³⁸ Lieutenant Colonel Smith wrote General Floyd that: "poor Captain Williams has just expired and will be interred with honors of war in the morning."³⁹ The Corps went into mourning for the second officer killed in action since the Revolution.⁴⁰

On November 6, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote to "Lieutenant Colonel Thomas A. Smith, Regiment of Riflemen, near St. Augustine, East Florida," acknowledging receipt of the news of the death "of our late Brother Officer, Captain Williams, whose memory will long remain among us," and that he was "very happy to hear that Sergeant Austin has merited the good opinion of the officers under whom he has served."

The National Intelligencer of October 20, 1812, stated that the loss of Captain Williams "will be regretted by all who know how to value honor, bravery and worth," and that "he will be particularly lamented by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, of whom there are many in this city." The same paper of October 24, 1812, carried an announcement that "A Funeral Masonic Procession will move from the Lodge Room of Washington Naval and Union Lodge on Sunday next at ten o'clock to Christ Church, where a sermon will be delivered

by the Revd. Brother M'Cormick, in consequence of the death of the worthy and much esteemed Brother John Williams late a Captain in the Marine Corps, who fell by the hands of Savages and Negroes on the twelfth of September, 1812," and that "all Masons and friends of the deceased in Alexandria,⁴¹ Washington and Georgetown, are invited to attend."

The remains of Captain Williams now rest in the National Cemetery, at Arlington, Virginia.

On October 16th, before the news of Captain Williams' death reached Colonel Wharton, that officer directed Lieutenant Alexander Sevier, who had been on leave from Captain Williams' command, to "immediately proceed by the most direct route to St. Mary's, Ga., and from thence to the Encampment of the Troops of the United States under Colonel Smith, near St. Augustine, East Florida." Lieutenant Sevier was directed that on reaching this camp,⁴² report to Captain Williams or in his absence to report to Colonel Smith "and receive the command of the Marines during the absence of Captain Williams."

Before the arrival of Lieutenant Sevier, the Marines, being without an officer, were mustered on September 30, 1812, by Ensign J. Ryan, 3rd U.S. Inf., and he signed the muster rolls carrying the names of 56 Marines at "Camp New Hope."⁴³ On October 19th, the orders of Lieutenant Sevier

were modified, the Commandant writing him: "The official report of the death of Williams," was received. "You must now consider yourself as the officer detailed under the orders of the Department to receive the Command, late Williams, of the Marines, and will so proceed to the Camp near St. Augustine and report to Colonel Smith."⁴⁴

On December 21, 1812, the Commandant wrote Lieutenant Sevier congratulating him on his "safe return from a fatiguing expedition," and that the "service on which you are now engaged will, I imagine, give you frequent toils in that way, which your good health and youth together will I hope enable you to surmount."⁴⁵

Major General Thomas Pinckney, who commanded the Southern Division of Army, superseded Governor Mitchell early in November, 1812.⁴⁶

Upon the return of Colonel Newnan after his reverses at the hands of Payne and Bowlegs, an expedition composed of soldiers, Marines, and volunteers, was immediately organized to attack the Indians. Lieutenant Sevier commanded the Marines. Payne's Town was destroyed on February 9th and Bowleg's Town on the 10th. The Americans camped at Payne's Town on the 10th and were attacked by about two hundred Indians. The Americans charged and dispersed the enemy. The American loss was one killed and seven wound-

ed, while the Indians suffered severely. ⁴⁷ On February 27th and 28th, 1813, Lieutenant Sevier wrote letters to the Commandant describing this Indian fight and also wrote to First Lieutenant John Crabb, the Paymaster, on March 4, 1813, on the same subject. A letter of Lieutenant Colonel Wharton to Lieutenant Sevier, dated March 26, 1813, stated that he was pleased to read "that you have received no injury in your late expedition, on which I congratulate you;" thanked him "for the account of your campaign;" and that he would "be ever happy to hear of your success."

East Florida becoming quiet, Lieutenant Sevier became restless and complained to the Commandant of the "inactive life." While at Camp New Hope, St. John's, East Florida, Lieutenant Sevier wrote the Commandant on March 30, 1813, that he wished "to return to Cumberland Island or elsewhere in order that he might be of service to his country," and that although he had already "done much hard duty since" he arrived "on this station" he could not "see the benefits resulting from it." At this time Lieutenant Sevier had command of two of the five guns in East Florida and wrote that as he had become "an artilleryman from necessity" he believed that if he returned to Cumberland Island he "could be of service not only in assisting the flotilla on the St. Mary's

Station, but of much service in protecting Cumberland Island and the neighboring islands from the ravages of the enemy."

Lieutenant Sevier got back to Washington in time to gain laurels and a wound at Bladensburg.

The President having finally decided to evacuate East Florida, General Pinckney issued orders on April 16, 1813, for all United States troops to withdraw from Camp New Hope to Point Peter, on the St. Mary's River, Ga., on April 29th. On May 8, 1813, General Pinckney reported to Secretary of State Monroe that the "last of our troops were withdrawn from Fernandina on May 6, 1813." Lieutenant Sevier and his Marines were withdrawn to Point Peter, Ga., with the Army. The May muster roll showing him there with 49 men. His artillery duty had been so efficient that General Pinckney "ordered him to remain with the Southern Army and discharge the duty of an artillerist."

On June 30, 1813, the Commandant forwarded orders of Secretary of the Navy Jones, dated June 28th, to Lieutenant Sevier, directing him "immediately on receipt of this" to "proceed with the detachment under your command to such place as Commodore Campbell shall designate for your embarkation in order to proceed to Beaufort, S.C., where" a vessel will "transport you to Beaufort, S.C." "A vessel will transport

you through the Sound to Elizabeth City, thence through the Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk, where further orders will be received."

By June, 1813, Lieutenant Sevier with 51 men was at Point Peter, Ga., They finally arrived in Washington, after stopping at Charleston, S.C., in the fall of 1813.

NOTES

CHAPTER XIX

1. Navy Let. Bk., Marine Officers, I, 118-119, which letter concluded: "To these orders you will add an assurance from the department, that the most perfect reliance is placed on the bravery, fidelity and discretion of Captain Williams"; a great deal of the information in this Chapter has been published in the M.C.Gaz., March, 1923, 24-43; See also Leatherneck, January 9, 1920; Fairbanks, Hist. of Florida; John Lee Williams, Territory of Florida; Cooper & Sherman, East Florida Invasion; The Article in Recruiter's Bulletin, February, 1917, 11, is full of errors, particularly with reference to the statement that the Marines under command of Captain John Williams were drawn from New Orleans and returned to that station after the Florida operations; see also Navy Let. Bk., Marine Officers, I, 158, Sec. Navy to Wharton; A splendid article called "U. S. Troops in Florida, 1812-1813" published many letters with notes by T. Frederick Davis appeared in Florida Hist. Soc. Quarterly for July, Oct., 1930, Jan. ~~and April, 1931.~~ *and July, 1931.*
2. M. C. Archives.
3. M. C. Archives.
4. In a letter dated May 23, 1811, Captain Williams reported his arrival "at the Island," as shown by a letter of the Commandant on June 12, 1811, in reply. (M.C. Arch.)
5. Point Petre was a U.S. Army post on the St. Mary's River about two miles east of the town of St. Mary's Ga., and five miles from Amelia Island.
6. Private John White died on June 22 and Private Francis D. Maley on July 17th. Private Lewis Fleury on August 27th;

6. Continued.

Christian Wayman on September 14th; Burris Grooten on October 8th; Benjamin Arnold on November 1st; and John Fallen on November 5th; On Sept. 11, 1811, Sec. Navy Paul Hamilton wrote Williams, "Com'g Marines, St. Mary's," regretting death of "Doc. McCormick," and general sickness on Cumberland Island, and directed Williams to select a doctor and Hamilton would "send him a commission." (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 126-127)

7. "In due time your letters of the 20th & 29th were handed to me, the former describing the situation of the Barracks by you lately erected; which I should suppose very commodious, & from the sum named not expensive. As you will be in the receipt of orders preparing you for another Command before this can reach you, I must recommend your early attention to closing the accounts of the Buildings, before your departure from the Island, so that no difficulties may arise therefrom to you, or, the officer relieving you there." * * * "I observe with regret the diminished state of the Guard and shall soon increase it. You however do not give me very flattering prospects of Success in your Quarter." (Wharton to Williams, March 17, 1812, in M. C. Arch.); Let. Sec. Navy to Williams, October 22, 1811, in which Sec. Hamilton wrote it probably is best for the Marines to remain "on Cumberland Island." (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 133)

8. M. C. Muster Rolls; "In January, 1811, Congress took the extraordinary step never since repeated - of passing a secret joint-resolution," regarding the seizure of territory south of Georgia. (Harpers, XCVII, 621); see also Florida Hist. Soc., Quarterly, July, 1930, p. 3.

9. By the Treaty of Paris of 1763, Florida was ceded to England in return for Havana. The provinces of East Florida and West Florida were now formed, the boundaries of West Florida being 31 degrees N. (32 degrees 28' in 1767) - the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola Rivers - the Gulf of Mexico - Mississippi Sound - Lakes Borgne, Ponchartrain and Maurepas, and the Mississippi River.

9. Continued.

By the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Florida reverted to Spain. A dispute with the United States over the northern boundary was settled by treaty in 1795, the line 31 degrees being established. When Louisiana was purchased in 1803, it was supposed that West Florida went with it. Through a convention at Buhler's Plains on July 17, 1810, the people of West Florida formulated plans for a government. The Spanish Governor did not accept them and on September 26, 1810, West Florida was declared independent and the United States petitioned to admit it to the Union. On October 27, 1810, President Madison on the theory that West Florida had been ceded with Louisiana declared West Florida to be under the jurisdiction of the United States. On December 7, 1810, the United States took possession of West Florida to Pearl River, and two years later up to Perdido River. (See Fortier, Louisiana, II, 634-637); On January 25, 1811, Congress passed a joint Resolution and on the same date an Act of Congress was approved relating to the temporary occupation of East Florida. Both were kept secret by not publishing them. The President was authorized to use the Army and Navy for the purpose. President Madison appointed General George Mathews and Colonel John McKee as Commissioners to carry out the provisions of this legislation; see also Fairbanks, Hist. and Antiq., St. Augustine, 174-176; Dewhurst, Hist., St. Augustine, 140-152; Florida Times-Union, March 16, 1930; The matter was thought of sufficient importance by the President to bring it to the attention of Congress, and, in secret session, a resolution was passed, authorizing the President, in the event of an attempt being made by Great Britain to get possession of Florida, that territory should be occupied by the American forces. The President appointed General Mathews, of Georgia, and Colonel John McKee, commissioners to confer with the Spanish authorities of Florida and endeavor to procure a temporary cession of the province to the United States. They were, if successful, to establish a provisional government over the colonies; if the governor so required, they were to stipulate for the redelivery of the country at some future time to Spain. But, in case of refusal, "should there be room to entertain a suspicion that a design existed on the part of any other power to occupy Florida," they were authorized to take possession of the province with the force of the United States. As might have been anticipated, the Spanish governor declined a surrender of the province, and protested against any trespass upon his rights or domain.

9. Continued.
The plans of the government of the United States had, however, become generally known, and a number of frontiersmen along the borders of Georgia eagerly awaited an opportunity of making a descent upon Florida; (Fairbanks Hist. of Florida, 253-259.)
10. See Dewhurst, Hist., St. Augustine, 137-138.
11. Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., July, 1930, p. 3.
12. Navy Archives; "I have been informed by General Mathews, that he has good reason to believe that a detachment of English troops (blacks) are on the eve of being sent to occupy the military posts within east Florida." (Smith to Sec. of War, March 18, 1812 in Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., July 1930, p. 5); " * * * Colonels Cuthbert & Houston will inform you of the situation of my encampment & that of the Patriots. Not being clear as to the propriety of permitting any armed party to remain in my rear, I am induced to request that you will give me as early as possible such directions on that subject as you conceive proper. It has been represented to me that a faction on Amelia Island are doing everything in their power to injure the Patriotic cause. (Note: This refers to the British traders in the town of Fernandina.) The Officer in Command there conceives the Patriots have no jurisdiction & I fancy would interpose should they make any attempts to arrest them. I have declined giving him any orders on the subject, as I conceived it belonged properly to the civil authority. I have informed Capt. Williams of the unlimited authority you have to command the United States Troops in this quarter & directed him to call on you for instructions for his government [guidance]. I refer you for particulars to Colonels Cuthbert & Houston." (Smith to Mitchell, May 9, 1812, Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., July, 1930); "Having received from Capt. Williams the inclosed order, I conceive it of sufficient importance to forward to you by express. There is no doubt in my mind of arms having been forwarded from

12.Continued.

St. Augustine to the disaffected on Amelia Island with a view perhaps of arming the negroes & the crews of British vessels in port to attack the Patriots in their rear & perhaps to cut off my supplies. My present effective force does not exceed 110, which I conceive sufficient to oppose with success, should it become necessary, any disposable force there may be in Augustine. If their expected reinforcements arrive the safety of my Detachment will depend on the possession of Amelia Island & the entrance into the St. Johns, where I beg leave to suggest the propriety of ordering a Detachment of 40 or 50 men with a gun boat to co-operate with them." (Smith to Mitchell, May 14, 1812, Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., July, 1930.)

13.Navy Archives.

14.Navy Archives.

15.Marine Corps Archives.

16.Niles Register, II, 93; In the spring of 1812 a number of these persons, and some of the settlers from the northern borders of Florida, assembled near St. Mary's and organized themselves as patriots seeking to establish republican institutions in Florida. A provisional government was formed, and officers were elected. General John H. McIntosh was chosen governor or director of the republic of Florida, and Colonel Ashley was appointed military chief. * * *; (Fairbanks Hist. of Florida, pp. 253-259.); On March 15, 1812 John H. McIntosh wrote Don Justo Lopez that "two gun-boats, which is all we have required, will enter St. John's today; and we are encamped, increasing like a snow ball." (Sen. Mis. Doc., No. 55, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 66); Commodore Hugh Campbell, on U. S. Gunboat No. 164, on March 17, 1812 wrote Don Justo Lopez, Commandant of Amelia, "that the

16. Continued.

naval forces of America, near Amelia, do not act in the name of the United States, but do it in aiding and assisting a large portion of your inhabitants who have thought proper to declare themselves independent." (Sen. Mis. Doc. No. 55, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 71); Article by J. Frederick Davis in Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., July, 1930, p. 4;

17. Perkins, Hist. Sketches of the U.S. From Peace of 1815 to 1830, 94-97; For a brief statement of Amelia and other places being occupied, see Cohen, M.M., Notices of Florida and Campaigns, p. 20.

18. Navy Archives; It was deemed important to secure possession of Fernandina, and nine American gunboats, under the command of Commodore Campbell, had come into the harbor, under the pretense of seeking to protect American interests. General Mathews, having determined upon the occupation of Amelia Island, used the patriot organization as a cover to effect his purpose. The gunboats were drawn up in line in front of Fernandina, with their guns bearing upon the fort. Colonel Ashley then embarked his patriots in boats, and approached the town with a summons to surrender. The commandant, Don Jose (Justo Lopez, seeing a line of gunboats, with their guns bearing upon the town, flying the flag of a neutral power, but prepared to enforce the demand of the soi-disant patriots, had no alternative but to haul down the Spanish flag. Articles of capitulation were entered into at four o'clock on the 17th of March 1812, between Don Jose (Justo Lopez, Commandant, etc., on the part of the Spanish government, and John H. McIntosh, Esq., commissioner named and duly authorized by the patriots of the district of the province lying between the rivers St. John's and St. Mary's. The fifth article of capitulation provided "that the island shall, twenty-four hours after the surrender, be ceded to the United States of America, under the express condition that the port of Fernandina shall not be subject to any of the restrictions on commerce that exist at present in the United States, but

18. Continued.

shall be open, as heretofore, to British and other vessels and produce, on paying the lawful tonnage and import duties; and, in case of actual war between the United States and Great Britain, the port of Fernandina shall be open to British merchant vessels and produce, and considered a free port until the 1st of May, 1813." * * *; (Fairbanks Hist. of Florida, pp. 253-259.)

"On the 18th or 19th, Colonel Smith came in with three companies, * * * Captain Williams, of the Marines, was with them. * * * Captain Williams, with about twenty riflemen, remained in possession of Fernandina; he was in command about two months. * * * Captain Williams was relieved by Captain Ridgeway. Williams became * * * very popular with the inhabitants; he was mild, kind, and obliging." (Testimony of Geo. J. F. Clark in U.S. vs Ferreira, in Senate Mis. Doc., NO. 55, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 19)

19. M. C. Muster Rolls.

20; See Niles Weekly Reg., II, 93-94; Powell, The Road to Glory, 98-102; Richardson, Messages, 2, pp. 24-25; see also Moore, Int. Arb., pp. 4519-4521; Moore's Digest, II, pp. 406-408; Burgess, the Middle Period, p. 30; Florida Times-Union, March 16, 1930; Florida Hist. Soc., Qtrly., October 1925, pp. 90-95; Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., July, 1930, pp. 4-5; id, pp. 7-9, Smith to Sec. War, April 14, 1812.

21. St. Mary's was a small place on the American side of the line. One day in March, 1812, found some Americans under Col. Ashley was military chief and General John H. McIntosh Governor or Director of the Republic of Florida, across the St. Mary's River on Florida soil, and there on a bluff 6 miles above Amelia Island they camped and ran up a white flag decorated with a soldier with bayonet charged and the motto, Salus populi - suprema lex! Fernandina had been a Spanish port for some years. On March 15, Colonel Ashley

21. Continued.

(Military chief) sent an ultimatum to Don Jose (Justo) Lopez in charge of Fernandina. At this time the U. S. had possession of Florida from St. Mary's River to St. John's, and now these Americans demanded the surrender of Fernandina. This, of course, was all done with secret approval of General Mathews. Nine American gunboats under Commodore Campbell were in the River. On March 16, 1812, met at the Patriot Camp on Belle River. The American gunboats trained their guns on the city. The Spanish (10 strong) surrendered. Patriot banner went up; Articles of Capitulation were required that within 24 hours Stars & Stripes should go up and they did. See also Fairbanks, Hist. of Florida, 253-259; A letter dated March 19, 1812 from "G. I. F. C." to "O'Reilly" published in Florida Historical Society Quarterly of October, 1925, describes the surrender of Amelia, referring frequently to Commodore Campbell's gunboats.

22. Picolata is on the east bank of the St. John's River, directly west from St. Augustine.

23. T. Frederick Davis in Florida Hist. Soc., Qtrly., July, 1930, p. 7; Mathews to Smith, April 8, 1812.

24. Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 145; On March 27, 1812, Lieutenant Colonel Smith, commanding U.S. Troops in East Florida reported that he was proceeding to St. John's and that "Captain Williams will be left with the Marines under his command at Fernandina." He reported to the War Department that he embarked on April 1, 1812, and reached Picolata (which is on the St. John's River due west of St. Augustine) on April 7th; that on April 8th he ascended Six Mile Creek six miles and that Picolata had surrendered on April 12th. On April 8th, Colonel Smith was ordered by General Mathews to march to "Moosa Old Fort" a military station two miles from St. Augustine and take it over as it had been ceded to the United States.

24. Continued.

The energetic initiative of General Mathews however had not been appreciated by the President. The Spanish and British Governments protested against this invasion of East Florida and on April 4, 1812, Secretary Monroe wrote him that his commission was revoked. News of this, however, did not reach Mathews until other events had transpired. On April 21, 1812, Secretary of the Navy Hamilton directed Colonel Wharton "to order Captain Williams to withdraw all the force under his command from Amelia Island and to resume his former station at Cumberland Island." Captain Williams had only 35 Marines under his command at this time. Captain Williams made a report to the Commandant in Washington of these operations and sometime in May, he received a letter from Colonel Wharton dated April 23, 1812, informing Captain Williams that he had submitted the letter of Captain Williams "with the orders of Lieut. Colonel Smith to the consideration of the Honourable the Secretary of the Navy," and that he had "been directed to order you to withdraw the force under your command from Amelia Island, and to resume your station immediately at Cumberland Island, Ga. This you will consider as an order to carry the same into effect on its receipt." On May 10th, Colonel Wharton having received two letters dated at Amelia Island April 10th and 23rd from Captain Williams, wrote to him on May 10th, that he hoped that his next letter would be from his "former station, Cumberland Island, where you must return."

25. Capt. Williams was at "Amelia Island, Fernandino."; Governor Mitchell relieved General Mathews and in a letter dated May 16, 1812, to Secretary of State Monroe he explained his detaining Captain Williams' Marines in East Florida, against an order, which Governor Mitchell said if complied with, "would have compelled me to draw assistance and relief from the militia of Georgia." On May 28th, Captain Williams at Fernandina, in a letter to Lieut. Samuel Miller, the Adjutant of the Corps, promised to send him a "muster roll of the Marines on board the gunboats, which shall be done as soon as possible." He explained that "this will take some time as the boats are so scattered and you know that I have no officer to assist

25. Continued.

me in anything." In this letter Captain Williams referred to his quandary of having received contradictory orders in these words: "I thank you for your congratulations but I do assure you my worthy fellow that I never have been placed in so disagreeable a situation in my life. I am ordered by Colonel Wharton to leave this place immediately and resume my station on Cumberland Island and I am ordered by Governor Mitchell, who is now the Commissioner on the part of the United States, to remain where I am for if I evacuate this post all supplies would be immediately cut off from Colonel Smith of the U.S.R.R., who is within three miles of St. Augustine. So you see how I am situated." In this month Captain Williams' company was 34 strong; While communications were passing between Mathews and the Spanish Governor "Captain Williams of the Marines kept open a communication between Colonel Smith at Four Mile Creek (or Pass Navarro) and Camp New Hope."

26. M. C. Archives; See Also Captain R. Smith to Williams, July 16, 1812, and Wharton to Williams, August 10, 1812; Later on September 24, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote Captain Williams that he would recommend the withdrawal of Williams' force from the Army "very strenuously" so that he could use them "as soon as possible for naval purposes, for which they were originally intended." Further that Captain Williams had "been situated in an arduous undertaking."

27. Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 153; A letter dated June 8th written to Captain Williams by his Commandant stated: "I know of nothing which has been deemed improper by the Department of the Navy in your conduct. You have been placed in a situation several times admitting of doubt on your part how to act, and of course attended with embarrassment. You will see by the enclosed how far your orders to return to Cumberland Island are to be revoked and will govern yourself accordingly." At this time there were sixty Marines under Captain Williams; Captain Williams in July had again complained to Washington of the efforts

27. Continued.
of the military authorities to take his Marines from him and on August 10, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote to him that letters had been sent to the Army officer which would relieve the situation. On August 19th, Captain Williams requested Colonel Wharton to have his detachment withdraw from the Army. He was "before St. Augustine" on that date.
28. Florida Hist. Soc., Qtrly., July, 1930, p. 16; "The gun-boats with the Six-Pounders has passed the Cowford on her way to Six Mile Creek. The pieces will at least insure us respect from the launches." (Lt-Col. Smith to Gov. Mitchell in Florida Hist. Soc., Qtrly., July, 1930, p.18)
29. "Wm. Hollingsworth's farm was immediately on the east bank of the St. Johns River about ten miles above the Cowford. The Cowford was at the foot of Liberty Street in Jacksonville." (T. Frederick Davis in Fla., Hist. Soc., Qtrly., p. 142, Jan., 1931); See also "Map and Survey of Hollingsworth, showing the exact location of Camp New Hope, 118 years after construction," published on p. 276 of Fla., Hist. Soc. Qtrly., April, 1931, the map being donated by Joseph R. Dunn, the owner of Camp New Hope.
30. Prior to this time Col. Smith's supply depot was about six miles up Six Mile Creek, a tributary of the St. Johns River (Smith to Sec. of War, Apr. 14, 1812, Fla. Hist. Soc. Quarterly, July, 1930, p. 7). When the depot at Davis' Creek was established that at Six Mile Creek was abandoned. (Smith correspondence.)
31. Florida Hist. Soc., Qtrly., October, 1930, p. 102.
32. Florida Hist. Soc., Qtrly., October, 1930, p. 103.

33. Florida Hist. Soc., Qtrly., October, 1930, p. 105.

34. In this letter found in M. C. Arch. Capt. Williams also wrote: "I still enjoy good health myself. Should you see Miss Dulany make my best respects to her & say I will return as soon as the Florida war is over. Remember me to all friends."

35. On Sept. 12, 1812, Lt. Col. Smith wrote Col. Newman that he had "been unable to ascertain the fate of Captains Williams and Fort. They are in all probability both killed. None of the party has come in. I will keep out scouts to discover if they have any intention of continuing on the road. Capt. Woodruff was dispatched as soon as I had information that they were out, but he was a few hours too late. I think if they will venture in the plain they will meet with a warmer reception than their small parties have yet received." (Smith to Newman, Sept. 12, 1812 in Fla. Hist. Soc., Qtrly., Jan., 1931, p. 137); "the escort with the Provision waggons under the command of Capt. Williams was attacked on the 12th Inst by a party of Indians & Negroes from St. Augustine to the number of fifty or sixty. Capt. Williams' command consisted of a Non Commissioned Officer & nineteen privates besides drivers. Capt. Fort of the Milledgeville Volunteers was with the party. The attack was made at the Twelve Mile swamp between eight & 9 o'clock at night & lasted about twenty-five minutes. The result was unfavorable to us, having lost our waggons, had both officers & six privates wounded (Capt. Williams in eight places & I fear mortally) & the Non Commissioned Officer killed. Capts. Williams & Fort acquitted themselves highly to their honor & would have been victorious beyond a doubt if either of them had escaped for a few minutes, as an order had been given to charge & the enemy began to give ground. The Indians fled the second fire yelling like devils. I would have made an effort to take St. Augustine immediately, but my Detachment is so reduced by disease that I cannot furnish the necessary Camp Guards. I expect to remove to a healthy position on the St. John's in a few days & if the Volunteers (gone

35. Continued.

at present against the Lotchway Towns) will consent to serve to the fall of St. Augustine, I will proceed without delay to procure the necessary transport & supplies & invest it closely the moment that three or four hundred additional men can be raised for that service." (Smith to Gov. Mitchell, Sept. 22, 1812 in Fla. Hist. Soc., Qtrly., January, 1931, pp. 138-139); "I have been very uneasy least your messenger Mr. Holland should have been taken on his return, as he was the bearer of letters from me under cover to you which gave to our head men a faithful account of our sufferings & perilous situation, since which they have attacked our escort consisting of twenty men under the command of Capt. Williams. Their force from the best information I can obtain was between fifty & sixty. The attack was made on the 12th at twelve mile swamp about eight o'clock at night and lasted about twenty-five minutes. The result was unfavorable to us, having lost our waggons & had the Non Commissioned Officer killed & eight men wounded. Captns. Williams & Fort both wounded, the former badly in eight places, the latter shot through the knee. They both acted nobly & would have been victors if they had not been disabled. The order was just given for a charge as Capt. Williams received the first shot. He continued to encourage his command to do their duty. As Capt. Fort was carrying him a few paces in the rear he received several other wounds while in his arms. Capt. Fort returned, took the command & renewed the order to charge; but the men I presume not feeling that confidence in a Volunteer Officer did not obey the order. They behaved in other respects well, except Hampton of your company, who is I fear of the dunghill family. The Indians fled the second fire, yelling like devils.

"I have been compelled to fall back for the want of Provisions. I intend however to present to them a more formidable appearance in a short time than they have witnessed since the revolutionary war. Mr. Ryan is the only officer with me for duty, the others all being sick. We have had nearly two hundred in the different camps on the report at a time. They are however mending. I fear Capt. Williams will not be able to weather the storm. I will however cause every possible exertion to be made to save so brave and hon-

35. Continued.

est a brother Officer. The others will I think recover, some of them may be disabled in their limbs." (Smith to Captain Massias in Fla. Hist. Soc., Qtrly., January, 1931, pp. 140-141); Original Letter of Capt. Williams, September 15, 1812, is in M. C. Arch.; Nat. Intell., October 6, 20, 1812; Thompson, "Late War," 43-44, gives a full account of this action, and states "Captain Williams was a brave young man, and noted for his sedulous attention to the duties of his station;" M.C. Gaz., March, 1923 gives full account; Florida Times-Union, March 16, 1930; See also Davis History of Jacksonville; in reading History of Florida by George R. Fairbanks (pp. 253-259) disregard the date given, the account being as follows: While these diplomatic movements were in progress, and just after the appointment of Governor Mitchell, an affair took place which was very disgraceful to the Spanish governor and tended greatly to exasperate the United States military authorities. On the evening of the 12th of May, a detachment of United States troops, mostly made up of invalids, under the command of Lieutenant Williams, of the United States Marine Corps, with a number of wagons, were on their way from Colonel Smith's camp, at Pass Navarro, to Colonel Brigg's camp on the St. John's when they were attacked by a company of negroes, under the command of a fellow by the name of Prince, sent out by the governor of St. Augustine. These negroes, concealing themselves in Twelve-Mile Swamp at a point where the road is lined on both sides by a dense thicket, poured in upon the unsuspecting party a deadly volley. Lieutenant Williams fell, mortally wounded, pierced with six bullets, Captain Fort, of the Milledgeville Volunteers, was wounded, and a non-commissioned officer and six privates were killed. The soldiers immediately charged upon the negroes, who instantly broke and fled. * * * (Fairbanks, Hist. of Florida pp. 253-259)

36. On October 12, 1812, Colonel Wharton wrote Captain Williams, at the "Camp before St. Augustine, E. Florida"; "To me, and to your numerous friends it has been painful in the extreme to hear of the many wounds you have received in an action which was so unequal as to strength, but which by you,

36. Continued.

and your men was so well sustained. The contents of your letter from Davis' Creek, of the 15th Ult. was communicated to the Honourable, the Secretary of the Navy, who has requested his regrets should be made known to you, and his best wishes for a speedy recovery, desiring me to inform you that he would direct Commodore Campbell to send a gun Boat, or other conveyance to carry you to some place, where every attention could be paid to your case."

37. M. C. Size Rolls; Tombstone in Arlington Cemetery bears date of Sept. 29, 1812; Nat. Intell., October 20, 1812; On Sept. 30, 1812 Lt. Col. Smith at "Mr. Hollingsworth's" wrote Gen. Floyd that "poor Captain Williams has just expired and will be interred with the honors of war in the morning." (Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., January, 1931. p. 143); "They constructed a block-house on Davis's Creek, for the purpose of provisioning the Army, and it was in maintaining a communication with this place that Captain Williams was killed. * * * Williams was killed fighting bravely." (Testimony of Geo. J. F. Clarke in U.S. vs Ferreira, in Senate Mis. Doc., No. 55, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 20); "In May, 1812, Captain Williams of the Marines kept open a communication between Col. Smith (U.S.A.) at Four Mile Creek, (four miles North of St. Augustine, Florida), and Col. Craig, Commander of the Patriots of Florida at Camp New Hope, (eight miles South of Jacksonville, Florida). Captain Williams, (with Captain Fort, of the Milledgeville Volunteers), a non-commissioned officer, and nineteen privates, while convoying a wagon train from Four Mile Creek to Camp New Hope, were ambushed at Twelve Mile Swamp, (twenty-two miles South of Camp New Hope), by a company of negroes under a free black called Prince. Captain Williams was mortally wounded, having been shot in eight places." (Territory of Florida, by John Lee Williams, 1837.).

38. T. Frederick Davis in Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., January, 1931, p. 146; See also Smith to Bourke, Oct. 25, 1812 in Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., April, 1931, p. 261.

39. On September 30, 1812, in Florida Hist. Soc. Qtrly., January, 1931, p. 143. Smith wrote Wharton on Sept. 30 and Mitchell on Oct. 7 that Williams died on Sept. 30. (Fla. Hist. Soc. Arch.)
40. Lieutenant Bush on Constitution was the first; the first Marine officer to die after the close of the Revolution was Captain George Manning who died on August 31, 1798; on October 19, 1812, Colonel Wharton ordered crepe worn for one month. (Order Book).
41. Captain Williams' remains were interred at St. Mary's and an appropriate stone placed over the grave by his brother officers of the Marine Corps. In 1904 the officers of his Corps caused the remains to be brought to Washington where they arrived on July 4, and were later re-interred at Arlington with appropriate ceremonies. The original stone was brought north and lies over the grave in Arlington. (A. & N. Reg., July 9, 1904, 3-4); About the year 1904 Brigadier-General Charles L. McCawley, while on an inspection trip to Porto Rico and Cuba, learned of the location of the grave of Captain Williams, in an abandoned cemetery at St. Mary's, Ga. Brigadier-General McCawley brought this information to the attention of the Commandant. Proper permission was obtained to remove the remains (just about a cigar-box full) and they and the original grave stone were replaced in Arlington National Cemetery; The Records of the Office of the Arlington National Cemetery contain the information: "Transferred from St. Mary's Ga., August 15, 1904, by the officers of the Marine Corps"; The tombstone of Captain Williams in Arlington Cemetery contains the following: "Here lie the Remains of John Williams Esqr late a Captain in the Corps of U. S. Marines. Was born in Stafford County, Virginia, on the 24th August 1765 and died on the 29th September, 1812 at 'Camp New Hope' in East Florida. On the 11th September 1812, Captain Williams on his march with a command of 20 men to Davis' Creek Block House in East Florida, was attacked towards evening by upwards of 50 Indians and Negroes, who lay concealed in the woods. He instantly gave battle, gallantly supported by his men, who, inspired by his animating example, fought 'as long as they had a cartridge left.' At length bleeding under eight galling wounds and unable to stand, he was carried off the battle ground whilst his heroic little band, pressed by superior numbers,

41. Continued

was forced to retreat. Eminently characterized by cool intrepidity, Captain Williams evinced during this short but severe contest those military requisites which qualify the officer for command, and if his sphere of action was too limited to attract the admiration of the world it was sufficiently expanded to crown him with the approbation of his country and to afford to his Brethern in arms an example as highly useful as his exit has sealed with honor the life of a Patriot Soldier. The Body of the deceased was removed to this spot over which his Brother officers of the Marine Corps have caused this Pile to be erected in testimony of his worth and of their mournful admiration of his gallant end." John Williams entered the Marine Corps in 1805, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith forwarding him his commission on August 20th to "Centreville, Va." (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 14); See Letters of Major McClellan to Joseph R. Dunn of Jacksonville, Fla., dated September 8, 1930, Oct. 6, 1930 (File 2185-65, U.S.M.C.) for information regarding marker where Captain Williams was killed, the spot being owned by Mr. Dunn. "Orders. In testimony of respect to the Memory of the late Capt. John Williams, who died at East Florida the 29th from wounds received on the 11th Ult. in an unequal, but gallantly conducted contest against a party of Indians & Negroes. It is ordered that Gripe be worn by the Officers of the Corps on the left Arm & Hilt of the Sword for one Month. Officers at distant Commands will execute this order, as to time, from the receipt of it." (Order of Lt-Col. Wharton on October 19, 1812)

42. Wharton to Sevier, M.C. Archives; See Sec. Navy Paul Hamilton to Wharton, October 13, 1812, ordering that officers be sent to succeed Williams. (Navy Let. Bk., Mar. Off., I, 163); Nat. Intell., October 20, 1812.

43. Marine Corps Muster Rolls.

44. M. C. Archives.

45. Captain Robert D. Wainwright, commanding the Marines at Charleston, S.C., volunteered for service in East Florida. On December 20, 1812, The Commandant replied that "the employment of the Southern Army I am totally unacquainted with; but have certainly no great desire to reduce the number of Marines, now too small for all our naval service, by increasing the forces of another department, which has already more of our men than we can spare, and by which I am at this moment prevented from meeting with promptness the requisitions of the Department to which I belong." The Commandant stated that he could not order him even if he desired to as Charleston post had been established for naval purposes, not military. In a letter to Major Carmick at New Orleans, the Commandant informed that officer that he had hoped to reinforce him but could not and Major Carmick must depend on his own exertions. The sending to him the "detachment late in Georgia, was thought of, but it will not be removed at present from East Florida where it has been serving and where I imagine more will be necessary."

46. It is indicated that the letter from Secretary Monroe to Pinckney directing him to take charge of the Florida situation was dated November 3, 1812 and Colonel Smith acknowledged it as of this date; "I embrace the present occasion to inform you, that in consequence of my ill health, the active duties in which at this season of the year I am engaged as chief magistrate of the State, and with all the distance at which I am placed from the scene of action in regard to the agency which I held under the General Government for the affairs of East Florida, I have relinquished that agency, and consequently the command attached thereto. Colonel Monroe has intimated to me the intention of the President to confide that agency in future to Major General Pinckney, of whose appointment however I have not yet heard, altho I have no doubt it is, or will be made. If you have not yet heard from him on the subject, it will probably be best for you to act under the orders you have received heretofore from me, until you do hear from him." (Governor Mitchell to Lieutenant Colonel Smith, Nov. 7, 1812, Florida Hist. Soc., Qtrly., April, 1931.p.264)

47. Nat. Intell., March 16-17, 1813; "The first disorganization of the Florida Indians, arose on the retirement of the trading house of Panton, Leslie and Co.; then came the irruption of the Georgia Borderers in 1812, when the Alachua settlements were destroyed and their King and Chief, Payne, received his death in the field. His brother Bowlegs (whose Indian name was Islapacpaya, which means Faraway), died soon after of a broken heart, as it is said." (M.M. Cohen, Notices of Florida and the campaigns, 35)

INDEX FOR CHAPTER XIX.
Volume I.

Abandoned cemetery at St. Mary's, Ga.....	34
Accounts, closing of.....	20
Act of Congress, January 25, 1811.....	21
Adjutant, U.S.M.C.....	10, 27
Africans from Jamaica.....	1
Alachua Settlements destroyed.....	37
Alexandria, Va.....	14
Allotment of money.....	3
Ambush.....	3, 11, 32, 33
Ambuscade.....	11
Amelia.....	9, 10, 24, 26
Amelia Island.....	5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 19, 22, 23, 27
American Revolution.....	34
Appalachicola River.....	20
Appointment of a Navy Doctor by Capt. Williams.....	20
Arlington National Cemetery.....	14, 33, 34
"Armed diplomacy".....	3
Arms, "stands of arms".....	4
Army.....	1, 2, 4, 5, 14, 21, 28, 33
Army, Marines serving with.....	<u>See</u> Marines serving with Army
Army, Southern division of.....	15, 17, 36
Army, to assist Mathews.....	3
Arnold, Benjamin, Private.....	20
Articles of Capitulation.....	24, 26
Artillerist.....	16, 17
Artillery.....	29
Artillery, Army. Lt. A. Sevier, U.S.M.C. commanded.....	16, 17
Artillery, U.S.M.C.....	1, 8, 9, 16
Ashley, Colonel (of the Patriots).....	23, 24, 25
Austin, Henry B. Sergeant.....	2, 13
"Balls".....	11
Banner, Patriot.....	26
Barracks erected by Captain Williams.....	20
Battle of Bladensburg.....	17
Bayonets.....	4, 25
Beaufort, S.C.....	17
Belle River.....	26
"Belly".....	12
Black, free, called Prince.....	33

"Black Peril".....	4
Black troops from Jamaica.....	22
Bladensburg, Battle of.....	17
Block-House on Davis Creek.....	11, 29, 33, 34
Bloodshed.....	6
Borderers, Georgia.....	37
Boundaries, between East and West Florida.....	20
Boundaries of Florida.....	21
Bowlegs, Indian Chief.....	9, 15, 37
Bowleg's Town.....	15
Brass Pieces of artillery.....	8
Bravery.....	13
"Brethern in arms".....	35
Briggs, Col. U.S. Army.....	32
British Government.....	27
British traders in Fernandina.....	22
British vessels.....	23, 25
"Broken heart".....	37
Brother Officers.....	13, 32, 34, 35
Buhler's Plains, convention at.....	21
Bush, William S., First Lieutenant.....	34
"Camp before St. Augustine".....	32
Camp Guards.....	30
Camp New Hope.....	9, 13, 14, 16, 17, 28, 29, 33, 34
"Camp of the Marines".....	5
Campaign against Indians.....	16
Campbell, Hugh, Commodore.....	4, 5, 8, 17, 23, 24, 26, 33
Canal, Dismal Swamp.....	18
Capitulation, Articles of.....	24, 26
Carmick, Daniel, Major.....	2, 4, 5, 36
Casualties, <u>See Also</u> Death by disease....	10, 11, 12, 13, 14
	15, 16, 17, 30, 31, 32, 33
Casualties, Capt. Williams and one N.C.O. killed.....	30
Cemetery, Arlington National.....	<u>See</u> Arlington National Cemetery
Centreville, Va.....	35
Charge, Marines against Indians.....	11, 12, 15, 30, 31, 32
Charleston, S.C.....	18, 36
Chattahoochee River.....	20
Chief Bowlegs.....	9, 15, 37
Chief Payne.....	15, 37
Christ Church.....	13
Civil Authority.....	22
Clark (Clarke) Geo. J.F.....	25, 33
Clothing.....	2
Command, when Marines served ashore with Army.....	1

Commandant of Amelia, Don Justo Lopez.....	23,24
Commandant, U.S.M.C.....	2,4,5,7,8,12,13,14,15,16,17 19,20,27,28,29,32,34,35,36
Commendations of Marines.....	12
Commerce.....	24
Commission, date of.....	1
Commissioner David B. Mitchell, <u>See also</u> Mitchell..	7,28
Commissioners, Gen. Geo. Mathews and Col. John McKee..	21
Commissioner John H. McIntosh.....	24
Commodore Hugh Campbell.....	<u>See</u> Campbell, Hugh, Commodore
Communications.....	6,9,11,28,33
Congratulations.....	7
Congress.....	20,21
Congress, Joint Resolution of January 25, 1811.....	21
Conventions.....	<u>See</u> Treaty
Convoys.....	11,33
<u>Constitution</u> , U.S.S.....	34
Contradictory Orders.....	7,8,28
Cooperating with Army... <u>See also</u> Marines Serving with Army.....	1,2
Cowford.....	<u>See</u> Cow Ford
Cow Ford (now Jacksonville).....	9,10,29
Craig, Col. of the Patriots.....	33
Crabb, John, Lieut. Paymaster of U.S.M.C.....	16
Crane, Ichabod B., 1st Lieut.....	4
Crape, mourning.. <u>See also</u> Crepe, mourning.....	34,35
Crepe, mourning.. <u>See also</u> Crape, mourning.....	34,35
Cuba.....	20,34
Cumberland Island off southeast coast of Georgia..	1,2,4 5,7,8,16,17,20,27,28
Cuthbert, Col.....	22
Davis' Creek.....	9,11,33
Davis' Creek Block House.....	11,29,33,34
Davis, T. Frederick.....	19,24,26,29,33
Deadly fire.....	11
Deaths.....	34
Deaths, by disease.. <u>See also</u> Casualties.....	2,3,19,20
Death of Capt. Williams.....	33
Department of State.....	3
Depot at Davis' Creek.....	9
Devils - Indians fled "yelling like devils".....	12,31
Diplomacy, Armed.....	3
Director of the Republic of Florida.....	23,25
Disease, deaths by.. <u>See also</u> Casualties.....	2,3,19,20
Disease, virulent.....	3
Dismal Swamp Canal.....	18
Dispute.....	21

"Doubt on your part how to act".....	28
Drivers of provision waggons.....	30
Drummer.....	2
Dulany, Miss.....	30
Dunbock, Charley, Captain U.S.M.C. (retired).....	29
"Dunghill family".....	31
Dunn, Joseph R., of Jacksonville, Fla., present owner of Camp New Hope.....	29,35
East Florida.....	3,4,5,7,13,14,16,17,20,21,22,26,27,32 34,35,36
Elizabeth City.....	18
England.....	20
English troops (blacks) from Jamaica.....	22
Ensign, U.S. Army.....	14,31
<u>Enterprize</u> , U.S.S.....	2
Equipment.....	2
Escort with the Provision Waggons, <u>See also</u> Convoys..	30
Escorting convoys.. <u>See also</u> Convoys.....	11
Evacuate.....	7
Evacuation of Fernandina.....	17
"Exit", of Captain Williams.....	35
Expedition of soldiers, Marines and volunteers....	15,16
Expedition, fatiguing.....	15
Fallen, John, Private.....	20
"Faraway," English meaning of <u>Islapacpaya</u> , the Indian name of Bowlegs.....	37
"Fatiguing expedition".....	15
Fernandina, on the northwest point of Amelia Island, East Florida....	5,6,17,22,24,25,26,27
Ferreira, U.S. <u>vs.</u>	25,33
Fifer.....	2
Finances.....	3
"Fired upon," orders not to fire until fired upon....	6
Fire, deadly.....	11
"First shot," Capt. Williams received.....	31
Flag, neutral power.....	24
Flag, Patriot.....	5,6,26
Flag, Spanish.....	24
Flag, U.S.....	6,24,26
Flag, White.....	<u>See</u> White Flag
Fleury, Lewis, Private.....	19
Florida.....	5,20,21,22,23
Florida, East.....	<u>See</u> East Florida
Florida Indians,... <u>See also</u> Indians.....	37
Florida, Republic of.....	25
"Florida situation".....	36
"Florida War".....	10,30

Florida, West.....	See West Florida
Flotilla.....	1,16
Floyd, General U.S. Army.....	13,33
Fort, Capt. of Millidgeville Volunteers..	11,12,30,31,33
Fort, Moosa Old Fort.....	6,9,26
Fort Stallings.....	9
Free Black named Prince.....	11,33
Free port, Fernandina.....	25
Frontiersmen.....	22
Four Mile Creek.....	9,28,33
Funds.....	3
Funeral Procession, Masonic.....	13
Furlough.....	5
Georgetown.....	14
Georgia.....	5,7,20,21,22,27,36
Georgia Borderers, irruption of, 1812.....	37
"G.I.F.C.".....	26
Governor John H. McIntosh of the Republic of Florida	23,25
Gov. David B. Mitchell....	See Mitchell, David B., Governor
Grave stone of Capt. Williams.....	34
Great Britain.....	4,21,25
Great Britain, War with.....	4
Greenleaf, Robert, Captain.....	1
Grooten, Burris, Private.....	20
Gulf of Mexico.....	20
Gunboat No. 10.....	6
Gunboat No. 62.....	6
Gunboat No. 63.....	6
Gunboat No. 164.....	23
Gunboats.....	2,6,8,10,23,24,26,27,29
Gunboats, Marines on.....	6,10
Guns.....	9
Hamilton, Paul Sec. of Navy.....	1,5,8,12,20,27,33,35
Hampton, Private.....	31
"Hard duty".....	16
Harris, Navy agent.....	2
Havana, Cuba.....	20
"Head Men".....	31
Head winds.....	8
Heart, broken.....	37
Heavy odds.....	11
Hilt of Sword.....	35
Holland, Mr., a messenger.....	31

Hollingsworth, Camp at.....	13
Hollingsworth, map & survey of.....	29
Hollingsworth, Mr.....	33
Hollingsworth, William, farm.....	29
"Honors of War," Capt. Williams interred with....	13, 33
"Horsemen's swords".....	4
Horses killed.....	11
Houston, Col.....	22
"Huts".....	3
Import duties.....	25
Indians.....	11, 12, 31, 35, 37
Indians, Lotchway.....	31
Indians scalp Marines.....	12
Indians, Seminole.....	See Seminole Indians
Invalids.....	32
Invest St. Augustine.....	31
<u>Islapacpaya</u> , Indian name of Bowlegs.....	37
Jacksonville, Fla.....	9, 13, 29, 33
Jamaica.....	4
Jones, William, Sec. of Navy.....	17
Joint Resolution of Congress, January 25, 1811.....	21
Jurisdiction.....	21, 22
King Payne.....	37
King's Highway.....	29
Lake Borgne.....	20
Lake Maurepas.....	20
Lake Ponchartrain.....	20
Launches.....	29
Leslie, Panton and Co.....	37
Liberty Street, Jacksonville, Fla.....	29
Lodge Room of Washington Naval and Union Lodge (Masonic)	13
Lopez, Don Jose.....	See Lopez, Justo
Lopez, Don Justo.....	23, 24, 26
Lotchway, Towns.....	31
Louisiana.....	21, 36
Louisiana purchased.....	21
Madison, James President.....	1, 6, 7, 17, 21, 27, 36
Maley, Francis D., Private.....	19

Marines Serving with Army prevented Commandant from meeting naval demands.....	36
Marines Serving with Army.....	1, 2
Marine Barracks, Charleston, S.C.....	35
Marine Barracks, New Orleans, La.....	2, 36
Marine Barracks, Washington.....	1
Masons.....	13, 14
Masonic Funeral Procession.....	13
Massias, Captain, U.S. Army.....	32
Mathews, George, General and Governor...	3, 4, 6, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28
McCawley, Charles L., Brig. General.....	34
McClellan, Edwin North, Major U.S.M.C.....	29, 35
McCormick, Doctor.....	20
McCormick, Revd. Brother.....	14
McIntosh, John H., General (of the Patriots) and Commissioner.....	23, 24, 25
McKee, John, Colonel.....	21
Medical Officer of Navy - Captain Williams selected civilian and Sec. Navy sent commission....	20
Memminger, George, Captain.....	34
Militia of Georgia.....	7, 27
Milledgeville Volunteers.....	11, 30
Miller, Samuel, 1st Lieutenant.....	7, 10, 27
"Mind their own business" by Marines.....	3
Mississippi Sound.....	20
Mississippi River.....	20
Mitchell, David B., Governor.....	7, 8, 10, 12, 15, 28, 29, 31, 32, 36
Modified, orders.....	15
Monroe, James, Colonel....(Secretary of State).....	36
Monroe, James, Secretary of State.....	4, 7, 17, 27, 36
Monroe St., Jacksonville, Fla.....	29
Moosa Old Fort.....	6, 9, 26
Motto: <u>Salus Populi</u> - <u>suprema lex</u>	25
"Mournful admiration".....	35
Mourning.....	13
Mourning crape (crepe).....	34, 35
"Muddle".....	3
Muskets.....	4
Muster of Marines.....	14
Muster rolls.....	14, 17, 20, 25, 27, 35
National Cemetery at Arlington... <u>See</u> Arlington National Cemetery	
"Naval purposes," Marines intended for.....	28

"Naval purposes," Marine Barracks at Charleston, S.C.	
established for naval purposes.....	36
Naval Service, Marines belong to.....	36
Naval Service, Marines for.....	36
Navy Agent, Mr. Harris.....	2
Navy to assist Mathews.....	3
Negroes.....	11, 14, 21, 23, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35
Neutrality.....	1
Neutrality of Fernandina.....	25
Neutral power.....	24
New Hope, Camp.....	<u>See</u> Camp New Hope
New Orleans,.....	2, 4, 5, 36
New Orleans, Marine Barracks.....	2, 36
Newnan, Colonel, U.S. Army.....	15, 30
Newspapers.....	12
Norfolk, Va.....	18
O'Brien, William H.E. Sergeant.....	2
Occupation of Spanish East Florida.....	4
Ocean Street, Jacksonville, Fla.....	29
Odds, heavy.....	11
Old Spanish Trail.....	29
Orders, Contradictory.....	7, 8, 28
Orders, modified.....	15
"Orders not to fire a shot unless first fired upon".....	6, 10
Orders, revoked.....	8, 28
"O'Reilly".....	26
Outnumbered four to one.....	11
Panton, Leslie & Co.....	37
Pass Navarro.....	9, 28, 32
Paymaster of Marine Corps.....	16
Payne, Indian Chief.....	15, 37
Payne, King and Chief of Indians.....	37
Payne's Town.....	15
Patriots.....	5, 6, 9, 22, 23, 24
"Patriot banner".....	26
Patriot Camp.....	9, 26
"Patriot Flag".....	5, 6
"Patriot" organization.....	24
Patriot soldiers.....	35
"Patriot War".....	5
Patriots of Florida.....	33
"Patriotic Cause,".....	22
Pearl River.....	21
Perdido River.....	21
Picolata.....	6, 26

"Pile" as tombstone of Capt. Williams, called.....	35
Pinckney, Thomas, Major General, U.S.Army.....	15,17,36
Pistols.....	4
Point Peter, Ga.....	2,5,8,17,19
Point Petre, Ga.....	<u>See</u> Point Peter
Porto Rico.....	34
President Madison.....	<u>See</u> Madison, James, President
Prince, a free black, leader or chief of Negroes.....	11
	32,33
"Protection of the rights and neutrality of the U.S.".....	1
Protests of Spanish and British Governments.....	27
Provision waggon.....	30
"Provisional government".....	5,21,23
Quartermaster of Corps, Brig.Gen. McCawley.....	34
Regulars.....	9
Reinforcements.....	11
Requisitions.....	2,8
Republic of Florida.....	23,25
"Republican institutions".....	23
Revocation of orders.....	8,28
Revolution, American.....	34
"Revolutionary designs".....	4
Revolutionists.....	4
Ridgeway, Fielder, Captain U.S.Army.....	10,25
"Ripe for execution".....	4
Road, U.S. No. 1.....	29
Ryan, J. Ensign, U.S.Army.....	14,31
St. Augustine, Fla.....	6,8,9,10,14,15,23,26,28,29,30,31
	32,33
St. John's, Fla.....	6,9,11,16,26
St. John's River.....	9,23,24,26,29,30,32
St. Mary's, Ga.....	1,5,14,17,19,20,23,25,34
St. Mary's River, Ga.....	5,17,19,24,25,26
St. Mary's Station.....	1,17
<u>Salus populi - suprema lex</u>	25
Savages.....	14
Savannah, Ga.....	10
Sayles, Samuel S., Sergeant.....	6
Scalped by Indians.....	12
Scouts.....	30
Secret Joint Resolution and Act of Congress.....	20,21
Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton.....	<u>See</u> Hamilton,
	Paul, Secretary of Navy
Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith.....	35

Secretary of the Navy William Jones.....	17
Secretary of State, James Monroe.....	4, 7, 27, 36
Secretary of War.....	25
"Seizure of territory south of Georgia".....	20
Seminole Indians.....	9
Senate Document.....	24, 25, 33
"Sergeant's Guard".....	2
Sermon.....	13
Sevier, Alexander, 2nd Lieut.....	2, 4, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 35
Sick.....	31
Six Mile Creek.....	26, 29
Six-Pounders.....	<u>See</u> Artillery
Size Rolls, U.S.M.C.....	33
Smith, Richard, Captain.....	28
Smith, Robert, Secretary of the Navy.....	35
Smith, Thomas A. Lt.Col.U.S.Army..	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36
Snow ball.....	23
<u>Soi-disant</u> Patriots.....	24
Sound.....	18
South Carolina.....	36
Southern Army.....	15, 17, 36
Spain.....	21
Spaniards.....	2, 9
Spanish.....	3, 26
Spanish armed Schooner.....	9
Spanish authorities of Florida.....	21
Spanish Flag.....	24
Spanish Government.....	24, 27
Spanish Governor.....	21, 28, 32
Spanish Trail, Old.....	29
Spanish port.....	25
Staff, Adjutant.....	10, 27
Staff, Paymaster.....	16
Staff, Quartermaster.....	34
Stafford County, Va.....	34
"Stands of arms".....	4
Stars and Stripes.....	6, 26
State Department.....	3
State Road No. 4.....	29
Strength of Captain Williams' command.....	3, 8, 20, 27, 28
Supplies.....	31
Supply wagons.....	11
Surrender of Fernandina.....	24, 26
Surrender of Picolata.....	26
Swords.....	4
Sword, hilt.....	35

Third U.S. Infantry.....	14
Tomahawks.....	11
Tombstone, of Captain Williams.....	33
Tonnage, lawful.....	25
Trading house of Panton, Leslie & Co.....	37
Trail, Old Spanish.....	29
Trails blocked by wagons.....	11
Train, Wagon.....	11, 30, 33
Treaty of Buhler's Plains, July 17, 1810.....	21
Treaty of Paris, 1763.....	20
Treaty of Paris, 1783.....	21
Treaty of 1795.....	21
Twelve Mile Swamp.....	11, 30, 31, 32, 33
U.S. <u>vs.</u> Ferreira.....	25, 33
U.S. Road No. 1.....	29
Uniforms, Mourning, crape.....	34, 35
Union, The (United States).....	21
Virginia.....	35
"Virulent disease".....	3
Volunteer Officer, the men did not have confidence in	31
Volunteers.....	11, 30
Volunteers, Milledgeville.....	30
Waggon.....	31, 32
Waggon, Provision.....	30
Waggon, supply.....	11
Waggon Train.....	11, 30, 33
Wainwright, Robert D. Captain.....	36
War Department.....	12, 26
War, Florida.....	10
War of 1812.....	4
War, "Patriot War".....	5
Washington.....	14, 17, 18
Washington Marine Barracks.....	1
Wayman, Christian Private.....	20
"Weather the storm," Capt. Williams will not be able to.....	31
West Florida.....	20, 21
Wharton, Franklin, Lt. Col. Commandant..	2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 13 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36
White Flag decorated with a soldier with bayonet charged and motto.....	25
White, John, Private.....	19
Wilkinson, General, U.S.Army.....	5

Williams, John, Capt.....	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13, 14,15,19,20,22,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,35
Williams, John Lee.....	33
Withdrawal of Captain Williams' forces.....	27
Woodruff, Capt. U.S. Army.....	30
"Wounded in eight different places".....	11
 "Yelling like devils," Indians fled.....	 31

G5059

Property of
MARINE CORPS HISTORICAL LIBRARY
Please Return to Room 3127

REFERENCE BOOK

Do Not Remove From

Room

REFERENCE BOOK

Do Not Remove From

ROOM

Ref.

VE23.A1M3 vol.1, ch.12-19, 2d Set

REFERENCE BOOK

Do Not Remove From

ROOM

3343

REFERENCE BOOK

Do Not Remove From

ROOM